Nama

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In Namaland and the Kalahari
/Aus Namaland und Kalahari/

By Leonhard Schultze

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Gustav Fischer

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Theodore Ziolkowski

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/title page/

Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape 101
of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly
clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an
insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people.

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united 175
in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of 619
tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65)

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in 131
the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and 619
spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed) Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of

the nineteenth century, five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Na/ma·n is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are:

1. The ǂAo·/nin or !Go·/men, who are sometimes called *!Na·ranin by their neighbors because of their gourd (naras) fields, the Topnaars of the Boers.
2. The !Kχa·ragai·kχoin, shortened to !Kχa·r(a)kχoin, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.
3. The //Ha·bobe·n or Veldskoendragers.
4. The !Ga·miǂnū·/n or Bondelzwarts.
5. The //Kχau·/gõa·n or Zwartboois now settled in the northern kookoveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The //Kχau·ben or the Rooi Natie.
7. The /Kχa·ro!õ·an or the Tsaibschen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop.
8. The //Ogain or Grootdooden.

b) *Gū!nūn is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The !A·maĩn or Bethanie Hottentots.
10. The /Hai·/kχau·an or Berseba Hottentots.
11. The /Kχo·besin or Witboois.
12. The Gai·/kχau·an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes.

13. //Aι·χa//a·en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal 114 divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should 114 be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research [123] in my own special field, permitted. I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethnological material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is [104] said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the 177 basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

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68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Glubus, vol. XII, 1867).

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2nd ed., 1894.

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142 The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171 the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516] tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291] movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)].[1]

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 142 by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

[1] [see p. 8B.—Analyst]

[p.174]

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A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on p. 8(B))

Plates X-XIII, XV and XVII also serve as illustrations.

those that deviate, produce the following: The top of the skull has no special characteristics. The forehead is moderately curved. The crown, which slants in a moderately steep direction toward the sides [175] lies well-centered, rarely protrudes forward and even more rarely backward and the knobs of the parietal bone do not stand out. The back of the skull is never flat, and projects forward sometimes moderately, sometimes considerably. When looked at from above, the top of the skull has a definitely ovoid form, the pointed pole turned toward the front.

The most characteristic part of this view of the skull is the narrowness of the forehead, but otherwise the brain section of the forehead reveals nothing remarkable. It is moderately rounded, of medium height and steepness but the protuberances of the forehead are not marked. However the projection of the eyebrows gives the forehead a strange appearance (especially in the lateral parts. A glabella roll is usually lacking).

The cheekbones usually spread out so far to the side that the cheeks under the eyes protrude like two powerful swellings.

The chin is barely rounded, runs to a point and recedes. Thus the whole face appears pointed not only upwards above the eyebrows to the edge of the hair but also downwards from the cheek bones to the chin, when all the peculiarities of the above-mentioned parts are well-defined.

The Hottentot's nose is to our eyes of extraordinary ugliness. The nasal bone is set so deep that in many cases it is not externally evident at all where the root of the nose is joined to the forehead. The bridge of the nose is so wide and rises from the face with such a flat saddle that it nearly disappears. The lower part of the nose is all the more prominent. The bridge which in profile progresses sometimes in a straight line, is sometimes concave and sometimes convex, ends in a flat bulb at the place where our nose is pointed. This bulb continues to form a short, uptilted nose base. The enormously wide, blown-up nasal wings spread out sufficiently at the bottom so that one can look into the large transversely placed nostrils as easily as into two chimneys.

The prognathism of the jaw is often emphasized by a proboscis-like extension of the lips. The upper lip with its shallow, middle furrow appears long when compared with the lower lip. The lips, brown, thick, cracked and puffy surround a medium-sized and normally straight mouth line. The receding chin and the sunken bony part of the nose make the area of the jaw protrude even more like a snout. (cf. Illustration, p. 176). The teeth are usually in a straight row, and, as is typical for ours, show an increase in size [176] in the upper incisors toward the middle of the jaw as well as of the bicuspids and the molars of both jaws and a similar decrease in size of the lower incisors.

The eyes, which have a dark-brown iris, peer out of lids of medium length, which are not widely opened. The connecting line of the outer corner of the eye with the middle of the caruncula lacrymalis often reveals a faint slanting of the lid (towards the outside and upwards), although this slanting is not at all evident to the casual glance nor does it deviate from corresponding findings in our race. The space between the eyes is large.

Even if there were no crows feet in the area of the eyelids, the fold of the upper lid is usually so well developed that the lid itself disappears at the middle and sides under it. In many cases a fine skin fold extends around the outer corners of the eyes like a sharp seam, sometimes passing without interruption into the medial part of the lid fold, sometimes separated from it by several millimeters of unfolded skin. (Anatomically this) corresponds to an epicanthus, but it is differentiated from the typical Mongolian fold in that it leaves the caruncula lacrymalis free. The well developed caruncula lacrymalis covered with nictitating skin [Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old.] is hidden under the tarsus of the lid in the rare cases in which it is not exposed. The part of the conjunctive tunica normally protected by the lids when the eyes are at normal aperture, is smooth and of a bluish-white color. On the other hand, the exposed part which suffers greatly from dust and smoke has a yellowish [177] color and an uneven surface. I never saw the upper tarsus descend with a sharp edge. The black lashes are short and thickly massed. The eyebrows are usually short and narrow, sparse, relatively thickest in the middle; the individual hair is curly. Sometimes the eyebrows are straight, sometimes curved; they are low and placed horizontally, (sometimes ascending towards the outside) and do not meet.

[Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on page 176.)]

For purposes of orientation in the comparison of physiognomies, the portrait of a young Herero is included here (pages 178, 179.) (cf. also the portraits of the Bergdamaras [Kaffirs] the Betschuans and the Bushmen that follow later).

The ear is usually flat against the head. Either completely or semi-adhering lobes are the rule; I saw a Darwinian point only in the rarest cases and usually only indicated on the incurved helix.

1: Schultze--6A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p176]

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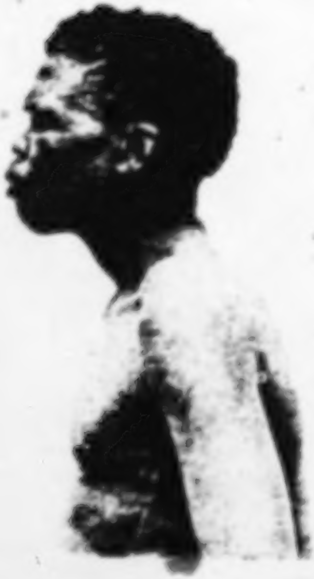

Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old.

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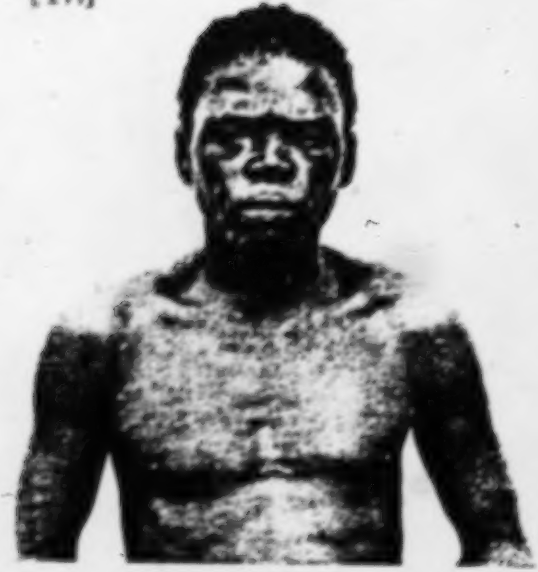

Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on p. 6 (A).)

The Hottentots and the darker Bushmen whose skin is light-brown or fawn-colored stand alone among the blackish-brown to black human races of their neighborhood. A pale, fawn-colored, brownish-yellow is the basic color of the Hottentot's body. On the face the skin is often brown but on the sole of the foot, it becomes the slightly tanned skin color of our race, even more so under the nails of the feet and hands, sometimes seeming yellower, sometimes pinker. They do not have our bright red lips. The mucuous membrane of the mouth (including the parts of the lips which are invisible when the mouth is closed) [178] and of the throat is a dull red tinted with violet. That is also true of the vulva. The glans penis, however, is a bright pink color. I never saw a single case of circumcision. 142 [304]

The Hottentots cannot consciously move either the muscles of the skull or the ears, only the platsyma, as I later tested.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old]

The body hair is extremely scant. Because of this and the strong curl in each fine hair, wherever the hair grows in bunches (except for the eyelashes, the eyebrows, the moustache and the beard), it mats together into separate, isolated tufts between which the skin shines brightly. But these visible parts of the skin are not bald: The implanting of the hair in the skin is regular, at least no group arrangement can be identified which would correspond to those matted tufts. That is true for the hair on the skull as well as around the genitals and in the armpits. The stronger the spiral curling of the individual hair and the scantier the total amount of hair is, the firmer and smaller the tufts. There are variations in all stages from compact formations that measure only a few millimeters across to loose clumps that are centimeters large. Only in a few rare exceptions is the hair on the head so strongly developed that it forms curls as long as the finger, thickly massed, but individually differentiated, which then stand straight up in confusion or dangle around the head in a fantastic way (cf. Plate V.) The Hottentot himself [179] designates the black round knots of hair on his head with the same word that means goat dung ("!no‡ra·s). The Boer compares these hair knots with peppercorns and calls the Hottentot "Pepperkopp". Among several hundred Hottentots I met only one bald one. [145]

The Hottentot has only those parts of a beard that our race has best developed, namely, a weak mustache (especially developed towards the side) and a chin beard. The separate hairs of these are well developed. He does not have side-whiskers and a complete hair covering

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Herero, about 20 years old.

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [832]

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hô↑//goa *. 516 576

*I could not find the word *!hô↑ listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !ho↓- to be bent, as from !hô↑ - to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning [Picture. Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arĩĩ ǂkoma !hô↑ //gũga (e)ǀts" i.e. "Your

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Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on p. 7(A).).

1: Schultze--8B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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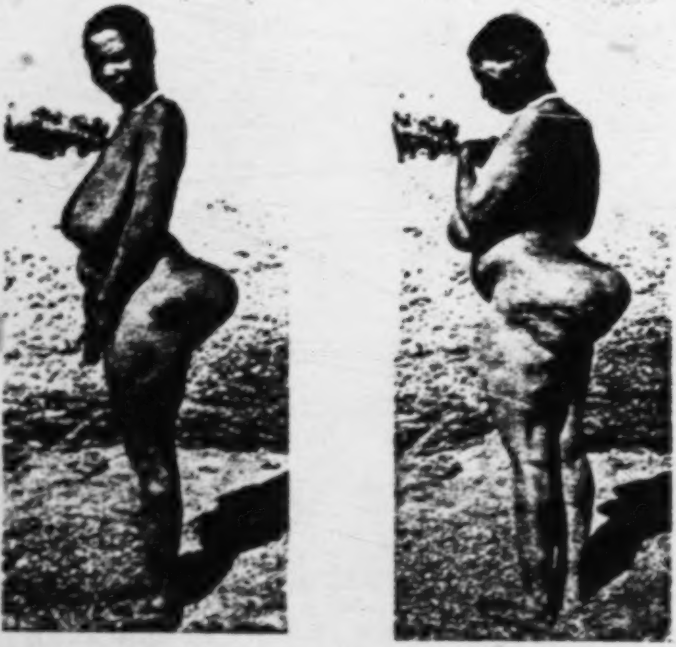
[180]



Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hōˀ //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hōˀ ≠kχaraga ū" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.) 516 576 [104]

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hŏˀ //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question. [777]

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kχoma gai //goaga (e)ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hōˀ //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (≠nũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement. 516

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women. 516 853

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the 516

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gǐrib ō̃aba, sores gye ti ō̃asa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed 201 [177] a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women.

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment 201 •//a·mana·m (from •//a√m - covering to hide and ăms - mouth). 152 For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression.

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called ≠onam, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have 201
their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and 578
one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had 152
bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs.

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of 231
care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself [222]
to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where [312]
water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hol- [415]
low out for butter jars, ~~or~~ they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa!mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is [797]
only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all.

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. 225
Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, [262]
especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the 225
individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, 222
inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from [227
the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along 434]
the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food
in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire 177
food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they 262
still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters
long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish,
weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and [317
pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the 251]
bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially 223
in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy 251
taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned
them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the
rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, 262
raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, 225
may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed 252
in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took
off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful.
During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands
and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed
out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies
of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have 226
always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the
Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate [172]
shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells
lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the
mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

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6. Benjamin Morrell jun., *A Narrative of Four Voyages* 226
etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841. 227

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught 226
following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame [227]
and baited with snails, is also eaten.

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier 224
nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There
is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only [262]
thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation [252]
of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the
fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the 251
air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is
not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that
not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin
pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hāt, v.).

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire 252
so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones
until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk.

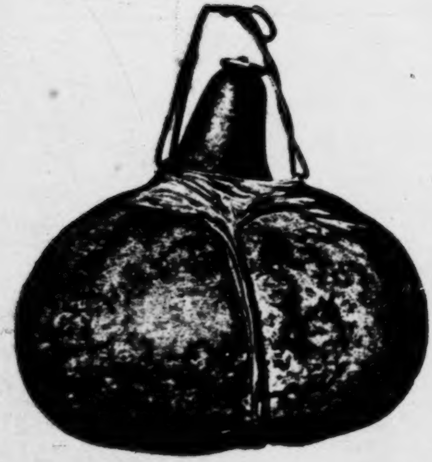
Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the [262]
fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the
Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they
cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of 251
freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and 415
blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape.
Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp
edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they
pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung.

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he 262
reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of 252
milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk 234
to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as [773]
the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/ai·χadai·b) or cooled
(*/ādaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according [824]
to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb,
the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of
the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are
chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a
bulb-like form (*/kχabīb) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and
then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods).

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is,
because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ūdaib.
*āudaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail,
the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned
into butter.

415
252
234
281

[p.187]



Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour 415
milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This 252
gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden 234
plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kχao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kχao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b).

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant 234
which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari, is placed in 252
the milk calabash. Because the body (/kχāb) of the plant is well [824]
covered (χa) with hairs (/ũ·/gu) it bears the name /ũ·/χa/kχā·s.

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the 171
*/hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into 234
a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of 252
a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b).

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from 415
the wood of a willow-like tree (≠hũi·b) that grows abundantly in the 234
Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kχaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it.

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the 234
adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising [855]
there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner.

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not 262
eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably 136
Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is [825]
supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently [827]
originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena.

136
Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and 252 eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not 262 despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, *//kχuri·s (in Little Namaland: [223 /hu·/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its 857] shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. [225] If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are [415] scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size][1]

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

136
The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome 222 dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called 252 262 *!nu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva[2] of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kχū·≠u·/nis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

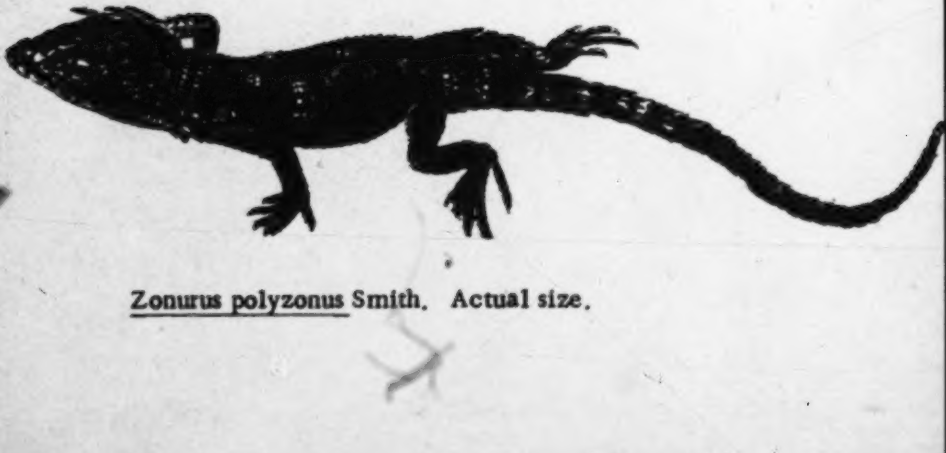
[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground 222 136

[1] [See p.16(A)-An.] [2] [See p.16(B).-An.]

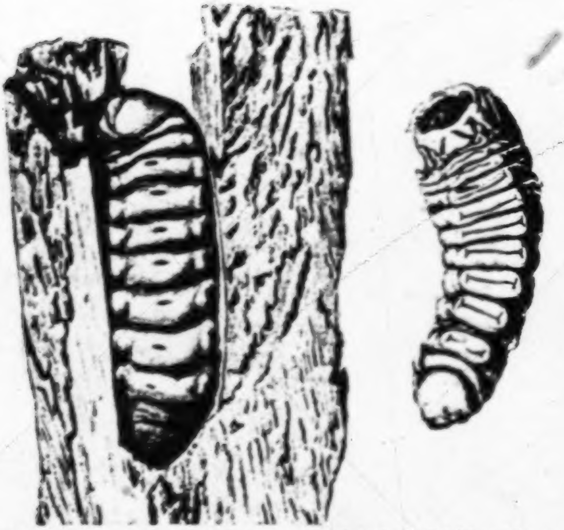
136
262

[p.188]

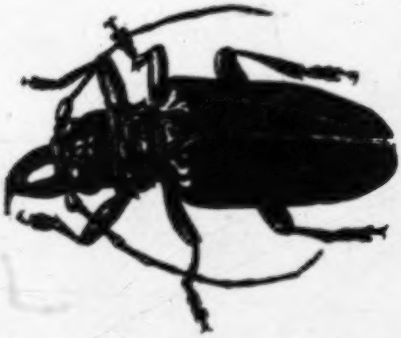


Zonurus polyzonus Smith. Actual size.

[p.189]



Larva of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size.



Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.

passages, pea-sized openings in the ground. If one follows these 222
passages, one will come to the house at varying depths, sometimes 136
only 1 to 1 1/2 feet under the surface, if a rock or hard layer of ground sheathes the soft ground and gives the house protection from above. Sometimes, however, one must dig down 6 feet before one reaches one's goal.

The underground dwelling has the shape of a lens, about 1/2 meter 136
in circumference and 20 to 25 centimeters high. The material used for building is a brittle, fragile, yellowish-grey, paper-thin mass; it is resistant to water. One can immerge the house in water for days without its falling apart. It merely becomes soft and less fragile.

The house is built up of about 40 stories, each averaging about 1/2 centimeter in height. Although at first glance the labyrinth with its many hundred rooms that communicate on all sides may seem complicated, nevertheless a simple principal of construction can be divined: the spiral passageway. The innumerable spiral passageways are sometimes widely separated, sometimes right next to each other, sometimes with even, horizontal flights, sometimes with sharp angled axes and correspondingly steep paths, but the construction is always such that the course of each passage passes into that of the neighboring one without any interruption. Thus chambers, halls, corridors, gates and columns arise.

The composition of the inhabitants changes according to the season. In July of 1904 I found in one structure eggs, larvae in all stages up to the adult worker, workers of various sizes, large-chinned soldiers, [191] three queens about 2 1/2 centimeters long, and finally,* in addition to a few undeveloped insects, numerous nymphs, mostly without wings.

These fat white nymphs, that are 12 millimeters long, are the 222
goal of the Hottentot. First he shovels the whole house with its 252
inhabitants and clinging earth into a sack. He sorts out what is edible in his hut. To do this he shakes the mass bit by bit into a vessel containing lukewarm water and stirs up the bottom with a stick

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*In the nests of *Hodotermes viator* (*Latr.*) I found a new *Cetoniinae*, *Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe*. The Hottentots know this companion of the termites well. It is about 9 centimeters long and of an even black color. They call it *//kłau≠ams*.

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops 222
them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over 252
the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure
"Hottentot rice," *!gîbes, obtained in this manner, has already been
slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without
anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected.
While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water,
the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is
crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive
but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is [262]
very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm 222
has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the
thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the
branches *!ga/e≠hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs,
*!kχũ/i≠hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired
to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying,
and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets
fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes
are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on
large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others
are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The
collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around 252
it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown
mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with [262]
milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying 786
pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the 731
young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the
young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people,
who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, [836]
particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, al- 262
ways a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without re- 576
strictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another
from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever [753]
violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished
by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it? 262 [177 773]

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix). 262 222 137

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kχai·ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *ǂgũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *ǀgao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂha·ʔob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge. 252

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its 262 222 137

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* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

[p193]
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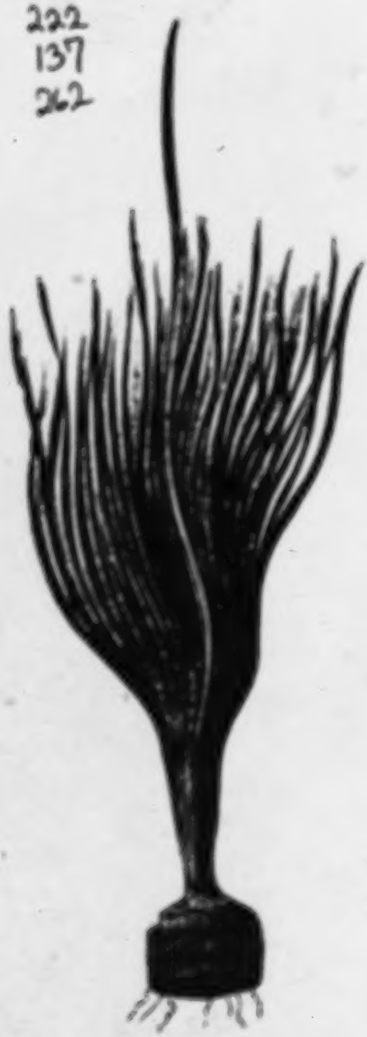
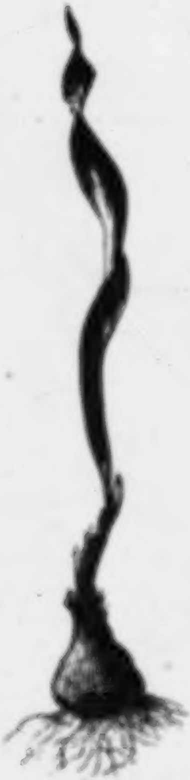
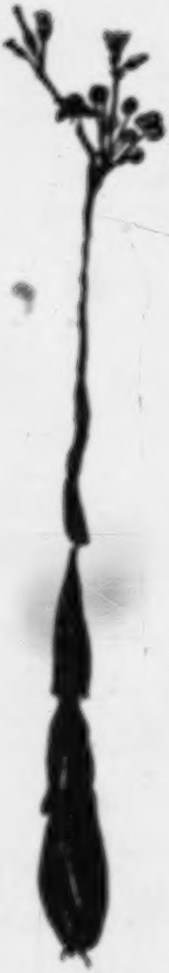


Babiana spec.
2/3 natural size



Moraea spec.
2/3 natural size



ǂha- /ob
2/3 natural size

137
name to the place Karibib (*≠ga·ribeb*). 262
Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. 222
The uientje of the *Oxalis* genus, called **/ū·/ sobis* by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (**≠ha·/ob*) is also [252] crushed in boiling milk. The *Oxalis obtusa* L. f. (called *!kχa·ros*) is considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: *Grielum humifusum Thbg.* 2/3 natural size]

Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be 137
mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The 321
!ha/ni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "*≠kχara-!goreb kχoma !hanixa tanasa õ*," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another *uientje* with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, **/ao·beb* perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call **!kχō·aireb*, and which plant corresponds to the **/a·mareb* of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to 137
the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is 262
usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: *Grielum humifusum Thbg.* (called: **!kχu·ib*, or **tsã/χa≠gai·eb*), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture. *Ceropegia* spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a *Peucedanum* species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the *Ceropegia* family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

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50. H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc.* Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, Berlin, 1889.

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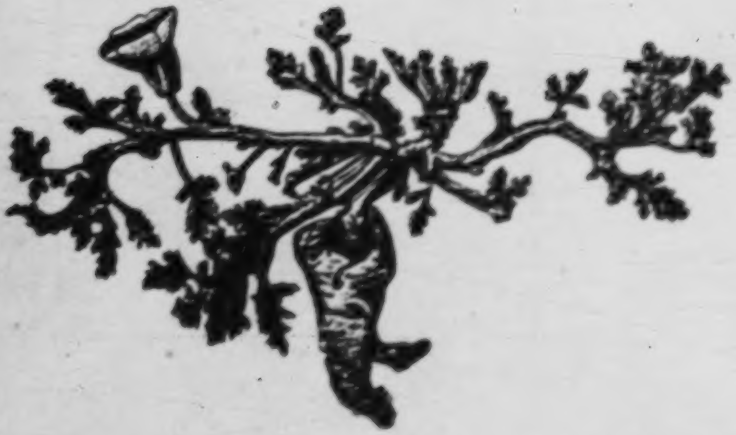
262

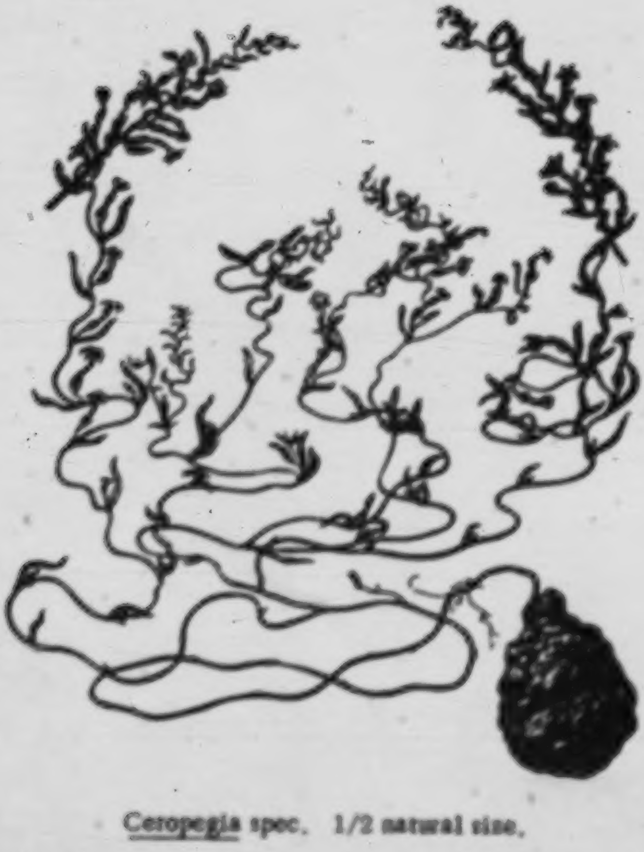
[p194]



Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size.

262
137

[195]



Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) "omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) "!ga·/marib· (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ≠ha·bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)"/kau·bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called "/a·mi≠ai·b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Walvis Bay received their name !na·ranin from the gourd fruit !na·rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year; the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627] 222 423 628

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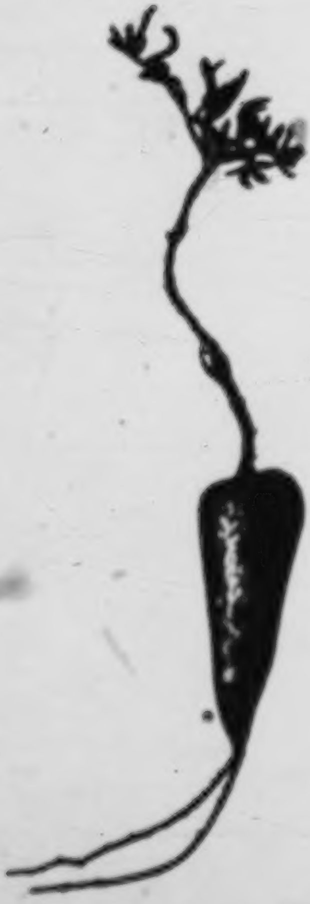
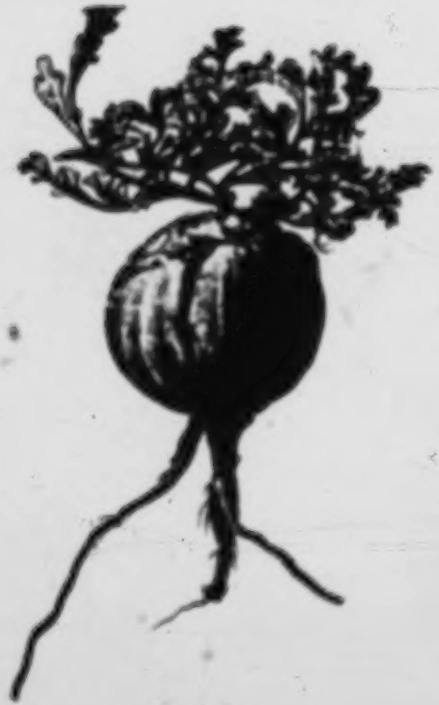
222
137

[196]



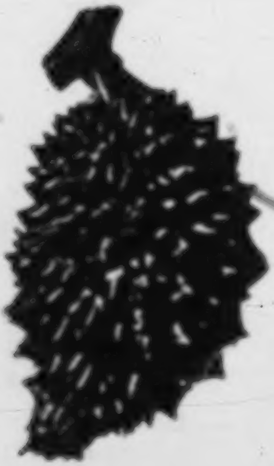
Omami!gaub.
1/2 natural size



the "Ostrich foot."
2/3 natural size

222
137

[p.197]



Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size.

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner 222
found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain 423
takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of 628
the slain man.

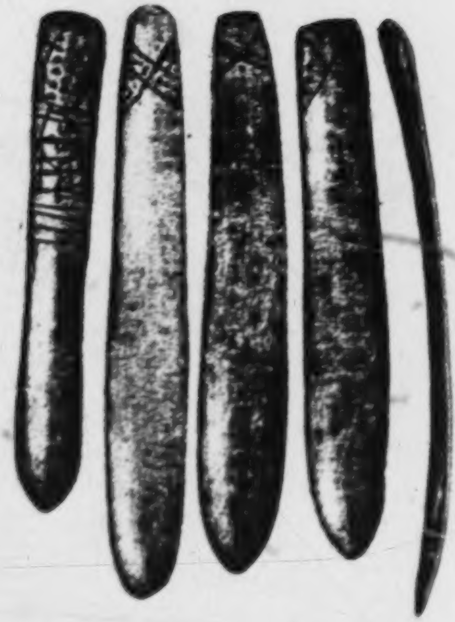
[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots 252
in the Waluis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or 412
the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, */ā·ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (/ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abun- 262
dance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when 251
it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit 262
is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked
with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a [415]
pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dōdi·b (also called !no/bo-s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Waluis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *#goa/g(a)a·ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realised that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

252
412
531

[198]

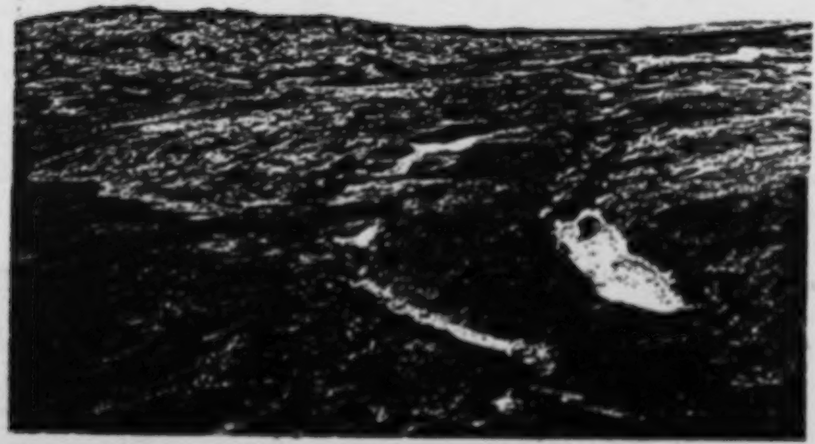


Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars,
about 1/2 natural size.

[Between 198 and 199]

133

Nara-Dune in the Kuiseb River.



Salt Crusts in the Namid behind Waluis Bay.

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[824 171] [412] The cup for mashing *hai·os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //ō·ab (- arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. •137 252 262 Of the gourds, which they call tsa/ma·b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, *so·robe-tsa/ma·b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the /asenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma·s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a tani bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a·nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the früits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ/s) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large glack ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Augea capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa·/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[p199]

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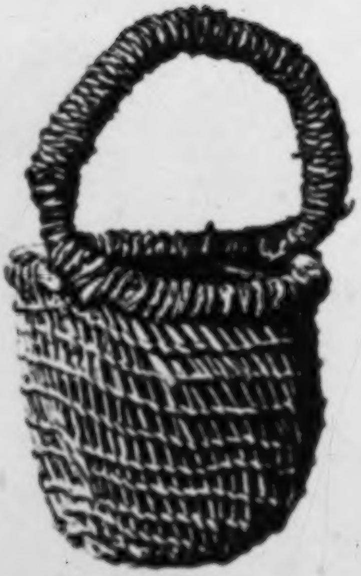
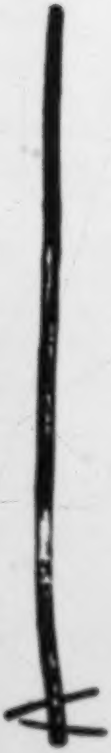


Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 *natural* size.



Nara Whisk, 1/5 *natural size.*

Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

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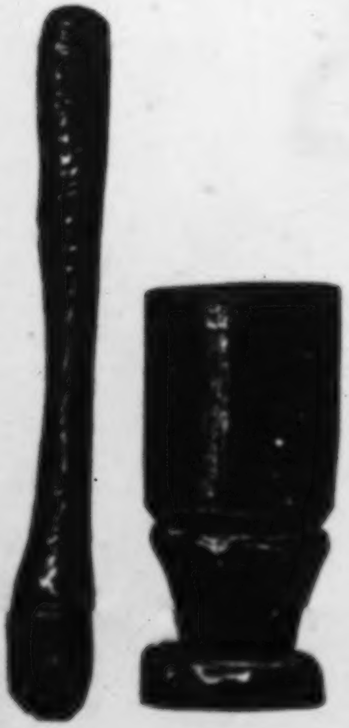
[p.200]



Pestle for nara seeds, 1/3 natural size.

[201] Finally, the food called //kχuni·b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kχu-ʔnibe·b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is *!ga·riao!ga·ʔmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaʔm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.] [222 262] 825

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (*/nu·bi!oʔ·reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish. 252 [415]

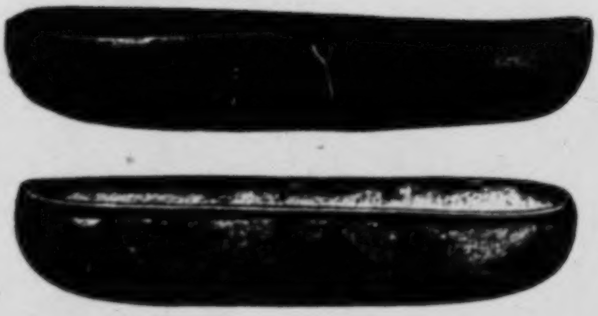
d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables. [137

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !naʔba≠kχaʔrab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /goʔa·b and !kχo·bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing. 222 262 [252]

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called *//huʔms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes. [252]

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called */kχo·rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[201]



Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ↓robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nā↓s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gī·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824]
blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourish- [855]
ment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχã↑s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard,
sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

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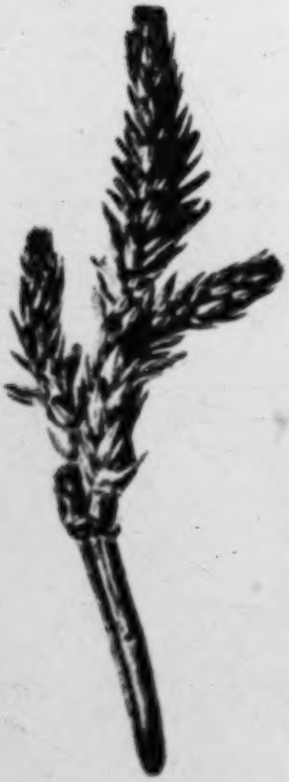
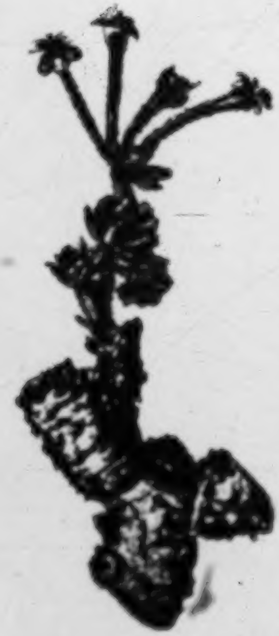


Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size.



Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.

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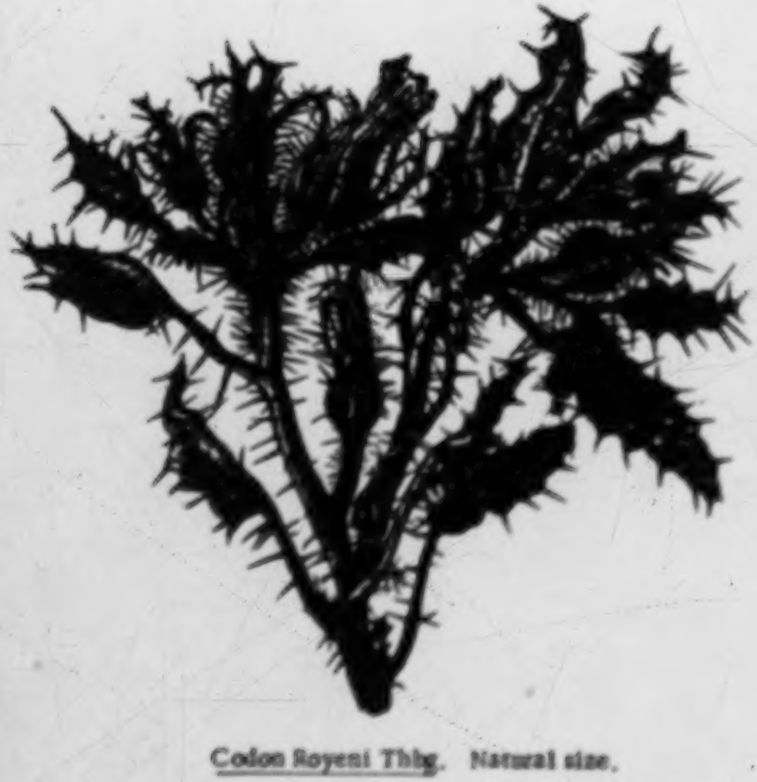
[203]



Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.

[272]

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.] 276

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da· ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a [415] little leather wallet, ≠nuni· //ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw.

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way 273 out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa/rib.

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usu- [134] ally build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. 222 The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (≠na/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes [273] sugar beer, are called */ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood [825] lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb.

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only 222 entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey 413 stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This

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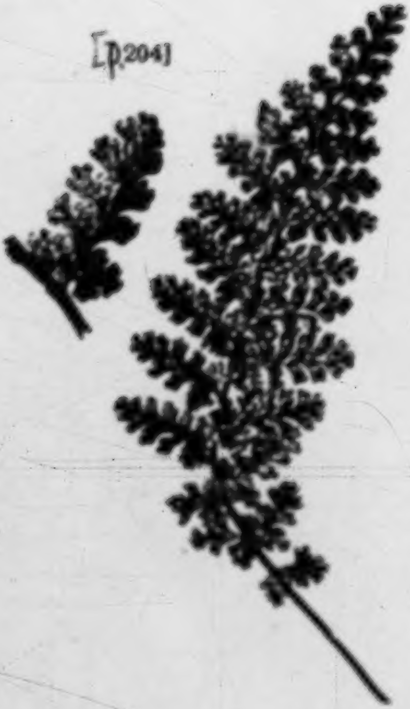
[p.204]



Farob, a tea fern. 4/5 natural size.

222 makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the
413 stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes
[405] a honey bag, **//kxo·rob*, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263
317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, *so·bos*. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264
415 The branches of *Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax* (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden *!ore·s* serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, *//go/a·b* is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two oc-
264 casional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called **a·m//ga·ro*. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264
524 *Tsu·bugu/ho·ru* is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

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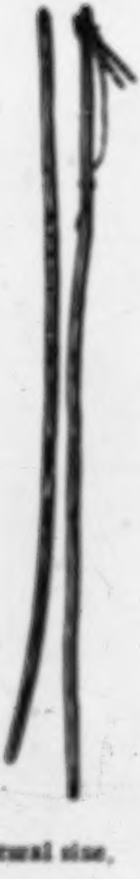

Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.

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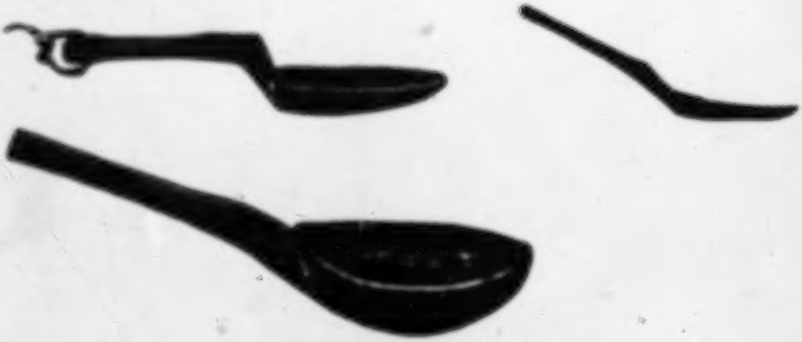
[p206]



Wooden spoons, 1/5 natural size.

E. Care of the Skin

515 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

301 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots
237 smear themselves with fat (≠hoaus(e)n or so/bos(e)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

302 The containers for fat, ≠kgũ·nas or ǃgõ//nã/s, which are found
415 in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are
237 cut out of an oxhorn and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

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66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers. 302 415 [237]

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.] [757]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nõe(e)n). The buchu, sã≠b, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste: 302 137 303

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and ≠gari-≠ga-eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called ≠/u-i//kxao-b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names !na·/roheb and !u·/risã·b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust, 303 302 [415]

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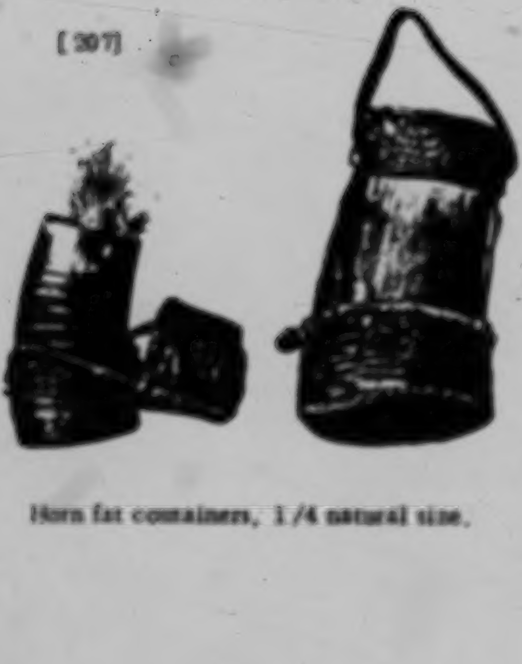

Horn fat containers, 1/4 natural size.

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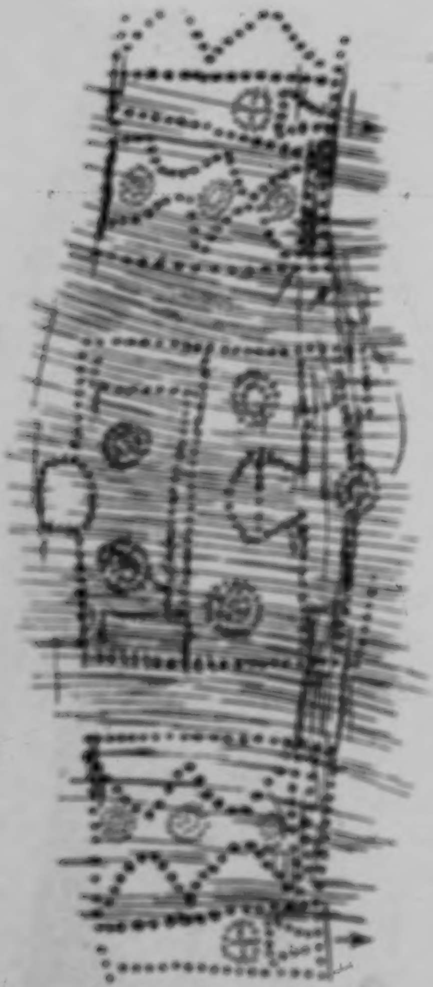
[208]



Pricked ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.

//guru-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing. 302 303 415

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ů ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell. 302 415 237 [321]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder. 302 [515 841] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/in(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves. [851 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/ho) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in. [308]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */o-i son-(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly. [308]

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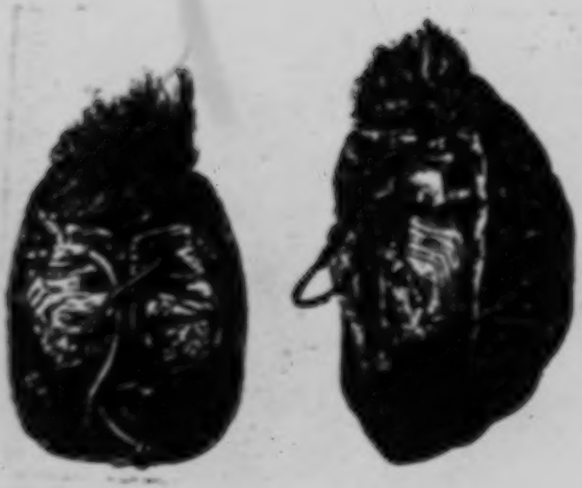
[209]



Buchu boxes, 2/3 natural size.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 303
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gu!b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [283]
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times [136]
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

eg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus 753
he excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not 757
vorry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure
onfirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes.

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is clearest when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757
a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized
o any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long,
go-regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly
ll the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical meas-
rements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area
nd the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half
entimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by
is father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower
unk" from which the child suffered.

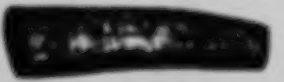
[212] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense *!hui-ǂko-rub 5
pening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the
mbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must
rst take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp
nife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the
ght arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood
o that the blade enters. They take about 100 centimeters of blood as
r as I could estimate.

Bleeding /go/m follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn
rves as an instrument for bleeding (*!hũ///nã/s, from *!hũ/ - sucking
arrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second
pening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite,
ider opening which is also filed ~~smooth~~ is firmly pressed on the bleeding
t. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on
wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly.
Picture, Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture, Closing a
ound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, 752
firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left
ear the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b.
nder the free ends of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly

757

[p212]



Horn for bleeding. 1/2 natural size.

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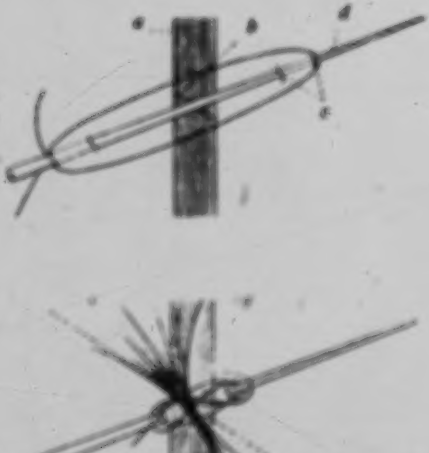

Closing a wound.

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated 752
is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously.

[213] To the west of !Hoaǂa!nas, in the border territory of the 757
Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there.

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness
which the Hottentot calls tsu/itsu/a-b, or more frequently calls fî-lab, [164]
borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilsiekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /ǂanis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they
sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the [273]
Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called *//hâb), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water.

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment
would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, [753]
for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired.

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Fotzenfuss," *ǂnũágyeǂai-bes, or pea-foot, *ǂai-!naro-s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhōs, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound. 757 [278]

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called *a-ragyetsĩ-bes, i.e. "curling toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa-bego, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and bast if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name */ha-/radzã/. [752 278]

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cordifolium L. f. (called *ǂnu/haib because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat. 757 278 752

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name !na-ǂngu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds huts" (om, v.). 753

Splinting (/gaō-) of a broken bone (*!khōa-s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely. 752

[215]

2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious broach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth. 124

a) Pregnancy (!kau·i, !go/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao-rab, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/ho. Whether the afore-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide. 843

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the grip on both sides of the middle line between the breasts. [153]

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [292]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones. [761]

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown. [844]

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging. [262]

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //guru-s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tna/nu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hâs. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hâs, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhôs. They often explain 843 826

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of 843
the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to 826
this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with 843
the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new 805
moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they 221
have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example:
a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter
of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon
(February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon
(October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after
the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman
would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b). Delivery. (//oa-s, giving birth, !na-/es, being born; one also 844
hears the word 'tu/tu-s, relief, hō/s, getting. oa-s means calving of
cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I [578]
have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives
in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely
3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the
smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily
made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the
cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered
with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth
and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal
connections with several families and their many relatives I was never
able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman
expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about
the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in
time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for
the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the
Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot,
forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored
old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been [128]
active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well
acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots
where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly
tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Nama-
land before and after she gave me this information makes me fully
prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the
personal guarantee of my authority.

Cases of Hottentot women giving birth in the fields and cheerfully carrying the babe home in the evening or delivering herself in a warm cow stall (66), cannot be considered average. Sufficient number of 844

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867.)

cases of Boer women giving birth under equally primitive conditions while traveling are known, but that would not allow one to draw conclusions about the customs of our race. Birth among the Hottentots, as with us, occurs in orderly circumstances and is an event they prepare for carefully.

Whoever can, has an experienced midwife, even if she must come from far away. The Hottentots give this important woman various names. She is either the !kãõ-ris, i.e., "she who catches the child (!kãõ)," or the ≠nũ-ris, i.e., "she who sits there (≠nũ)," waiting hours, even half a day until she can take hold. Corresponding to our chief midwife, insofar as she makes the decisions, is the "!kãi-/nataos, "the woman who cuts the umbilical cord." 844 759

Usually there are several women present at a birth and not merely as observers. When the first strong pains begin, the woman in labor lies on her left side. The women now group themselves, as far as I could determine, in the following way. One sits behind the woman in labor at the head of the bed and supports her shoulders and back with one knee to keep her in a half-upright, half-lying position on her side. Opposite the first sits a second woman who puts her right arm around the upper part of the woman's body. Her job is to bend the woman's upper body forward as soon as a pain begins, to hold the head against the breast and to place a cloth on the woman's mouth [219] so that she cannot scream out. It would mean the death of the child if the mother should lie on her back or stretch her legs. Her left leg, bent at the knee, lies flat on the floor. The right leg, also bent, is straight up, its thigh spread out as far as possible, its foot braced against the knee of the left leg. The third woman, who sits near the foot of the bed opposite the woman in labor, has two jobs. With her left hand she must hold the woman's leg in the position just described. Her right hand presses on the abdomen with spread thumb against the uterus to control the progress of the delivery. The old woman, who takes her place opposite the third woman behind the woman in labor, has charge of the delivery. Her left 844 hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain. 844

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked. 845

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not. 844

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?" [821]

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger), the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily. [854]

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl. [759]

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga-baras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck caul. [787]

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A resin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ǂho-ms, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps [278] with a rough surface. This mass, */nunu-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body.

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's [279] forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because [753 826] they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily.

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, 846 dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe-s). If the wound is inflamed, 278 this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat.

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of 853 the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor

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[p221]

A nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 25 years old.

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they 853
were often too weak to suck greedily.

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of 862
an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no [278]
longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of
the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed
to dry up in the woman.

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as 844
warmly as possible so that she will sweat.

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" "[illegible], is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not 846
even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water.

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed sooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day,
the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been [811]
able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation
begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed.

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered 845
good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 [771]

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward. 895

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning. 757 278

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties. 757 278 825

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kyo-ras, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have. 757 278

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake ≠no-/bo/ao-/s, Scelotes capensis Gthr., is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of 752 825

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," *Scelotes capensis Gthr.*, 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called *!huni- //hui-b*) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not an isolated instance, because men who do this are called */ao/!gã aon*, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective. [751]

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind testing and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives. 757 278

The excrement of rock rabbits, **!aũ- /aru-b*, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

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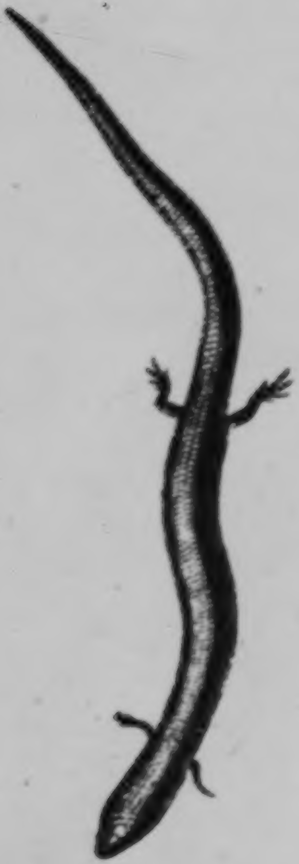

The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr.,
1/2 natural size.

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and 757
the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge 278
of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier.

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [*751]
*!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the *!garisab plant,* into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called *!gu/bi·b or *xamaxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755
Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756
magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ǂoregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

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*When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [229]

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas billygoat fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe. 759 755

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held towards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medicinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gai-√!a√ura, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone. 787 755 755

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //mâi-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells, around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name *!kxa/sa from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//noba-b) and venereal disease are extensive. Syphilis claims many victims. 164

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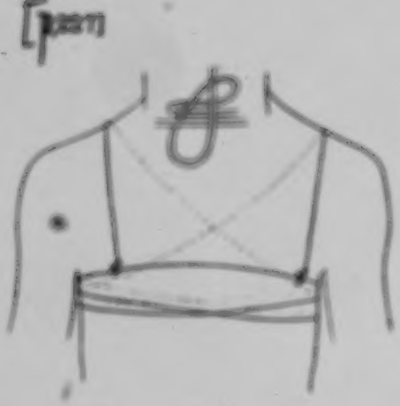

Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.

Syphilis claims many victims.

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and rebuilding it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value. 763

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, *o-mi*, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. 342 It is airy, yet protected against wind and sun, light in weight, [220] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle *habjes* (*Acacia detinens Burch.*) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort. [528]

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly pulled and trimmed branch (about 5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in bundles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture. Framework of a Hut].

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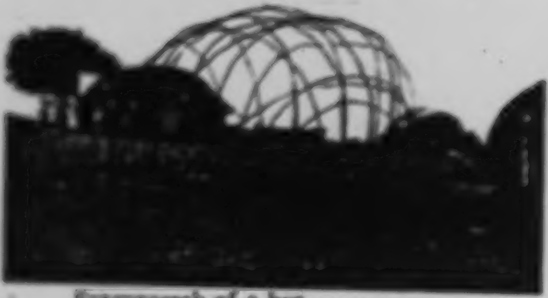
*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: **/a-hiǁha-/nab*, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

342
361

[illegible]



Framework of a hut.

The finished poles for the framework, *!ha/nagu*, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as *°!na/nihaigu*. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called *°/gurihaib* or *kχā!nab*, also *°/naǂhaib*, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut. 342 [183]

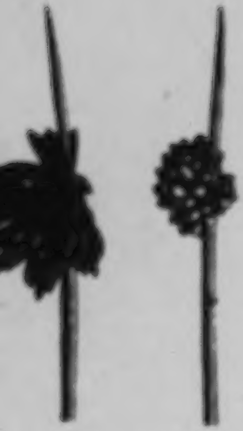
b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rub, a Mariscus species, of the *Cyperus* genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called */hu· mi·haru s* by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. *Cyperus*, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view, 2/3 natural size.] 342 185 [184]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried. [313]

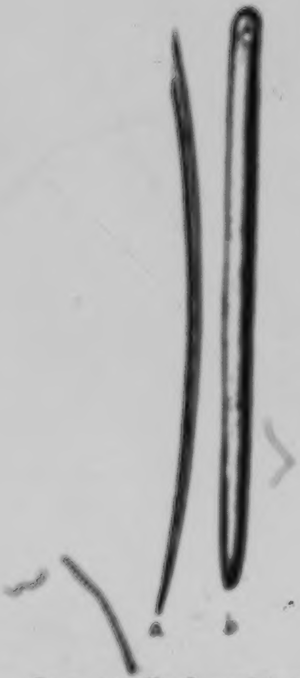
Piercing and hemming (*kχa·iam* or *°kχa·im*) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, *°/kχa ru nā·b*, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point to that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row.*

*In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

[229]



Cyperus, reed for a mat hut.



Bone needle for sewing mats,
a) side view; b) full view,
2/3 natural size.

> flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant 342
> so a path for the thread would be held open. 285
> A reed was threaded instead of a needle and
> then worked into the opening.. The Little
> Namaland people call this reed /hao-ramb,
> but the Topnaars use this word to designate
> the end of the bast thread that is threaded into
> the bone needle.

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are ierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first ow of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in lternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows ither in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along he mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off venly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. iercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed. b) Sewing Thread.) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru-b (3. m.). mat called !gu/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger eeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span he whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on he dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to eep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the racks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. n comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers [71] etter protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. 231] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is alled /ha-mi.

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads 342 o the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other [285] ords along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung !na/ni) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of he hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the ramework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other

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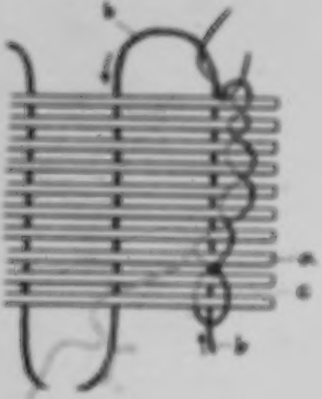
[p.238]



Piercing and hemming the mats (plan).
a) reed, b) sewing thread, c) hem thread.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so 392
that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.]

2. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest [352]
necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, [illegible], i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 meters high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, [illegible]. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.]

[232] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skins, ex- [352]
cept the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. 354

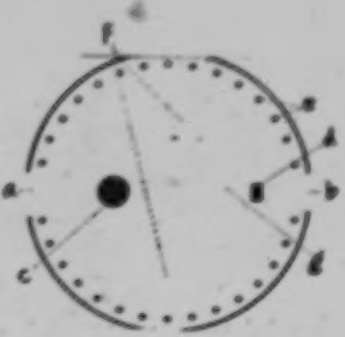
If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //haob, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, kha-rogu, are right on the ground. All kinds 513
of skins are used as mattresses and sheep skins (cf. p. 234) as covers. 352
The sides of the hut, !anira, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

The household utensils (cf. handicrafts) and the food supplies hang 415
from the poles of the framework or are packed in sinew nets or in skin 352
sacks. On the floor in the back room, !gu-rub, i.e. of the room between the place for the fire and the back door, stands the so-called "raiser", !hā/s, made from four vertical branches with twig stubs that are used as hooks for hanging things on. (≠ā/ti).

[231]

Completed mat hut.



Floor plan of a hut. a) front door,
b) back door, c) fireplace, d) "raiser,"
e) framework poles, f) siderooms,
g) back room.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

392
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177
361

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

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did 30 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·so, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [illegible]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded ("/a·mal) into the fleshy side of the skin. [illegible]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nū) with a piece of tanning stone ("/kgoma) the size of one's fist. [illegible]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·so in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. ("hasi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [illegible] [illegible]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo/a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo/a·s. ǂgo/a·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 362

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177] γ) The front apron *(!ga/e-b, 2, m.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//a/o-ragus, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hō/am/fosts, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 28/291 [53]

δ) The back apron (!gū/s) of the girls (also specially called /gō-/ bes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called ai-mai!gū-/bes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413]

ε) All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Alm Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[236] ζ)The so-called "rogue's sack," /hō a/hō s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 28/415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 28/296

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /ō/ō

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hō/a//hō/s. 1/5 natural size.]* 28/

[Between 234 and 235]

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in an apron.

A Topnaar Hottentot woman with a child in A!ba skin.

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.

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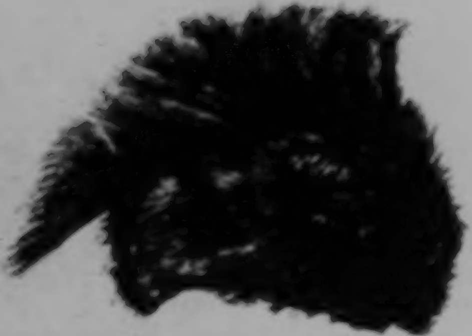
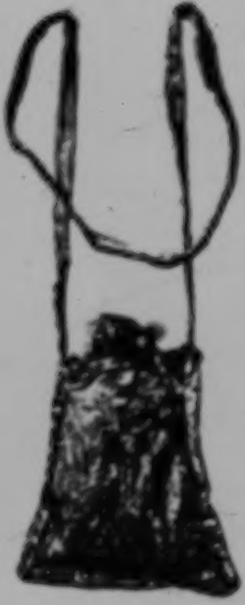
[p236]



Cap made from the back skin of the Aardwolf. 1/6 natural size.



/hã̄/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari·, vb.). Further
preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for
oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag
Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular
outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and
has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the
irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is
about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles
[Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the
Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [171]
Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the
same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is
cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a·bis*) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls.
1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep or
goat skin.

*One has tried to connect the word /a·bis, [illegible] 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

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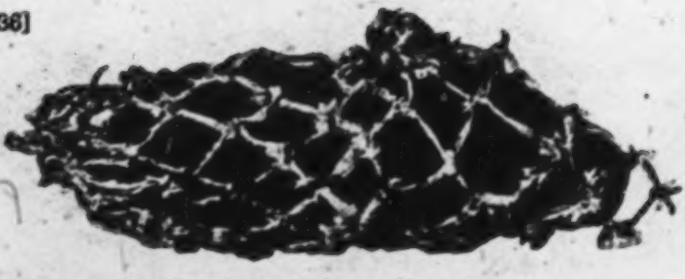
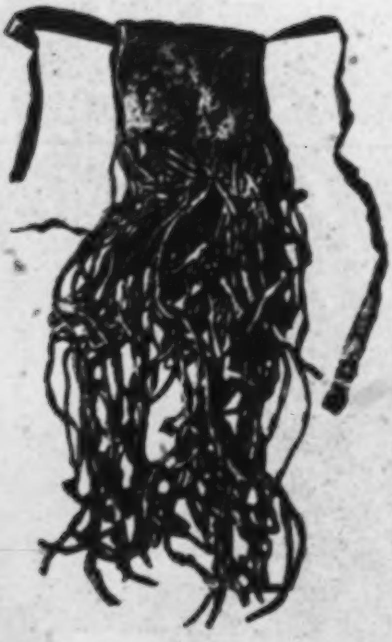
[236]



Net bag knotted from skin strips.
1/7 natural size.

Twisting the ox straps.

[237]



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Apron front of the girls.

The apron -- naturalia non sunt turpia -- may occasionally drip. Schinz (50) derives the word from the verb "to rain" and translates it as "drip." That is not possible linguistically since "to rain" is not /a- bi but /abi· . Krönlein (57) connects the word with the designation for "to slit," obviously connecting it with the apron's slit strips. But the word used for slitting the skin for medical reasons is pronounced /a/bi· (3. st.), which is different from the word for front apron in its initial, tone level, its word-tone, and the place of its accent. [Ed. note: These terms are explained on pp. 143-151.] In my opinion this is a case of three words which are not derived from each other; there are three stems with the same arrangement of letters, each one of which is independent phonetically and in its meaning. 196

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep or goat skin. Then one side is slit (from the future bottom edge) into long strips about 2 millimeters wide. On the opposite end an edge about 15 centimeters wide is left, the future upper edge of the apron. The piece of skin which has thus been cut is folded three times so that the hanging strips are thick enough to cover nakedness. The upper edge is folded [238] and the strap that holds it up is drawn through. The strap tsō·ab, is one centimeter wide and sewed to the apron to the right and left. It is drawn around the hips and fastened in back. 294

e) The economy sack, /na·ma//hō/s, holds all the household scraps which might perhaps be useful later. Here a few coffee beans may be lying about, there gourd seeds, here a strip of leather, there 415

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in 415
the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles.
For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Oreotragus saltator (Layard)] 281
skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ≠kxa·bis, to store tobacco. A 415
pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, 276
sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kxaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used 294
for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kxa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in most sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be [291
assumed that sandals, /kxabu·s, were the original foot wear of the 177]
Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is 415
made into a large water bag, !ga/ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly 281
killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front 415
leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure 281
which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of [237] the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hō↑ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed [484] when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hō/s*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots 196
by the white men is designated by the same 372

[p.239]

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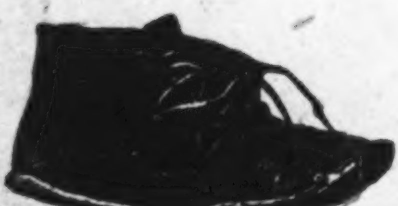
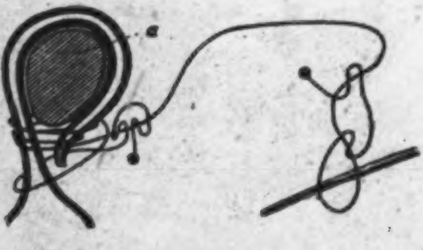
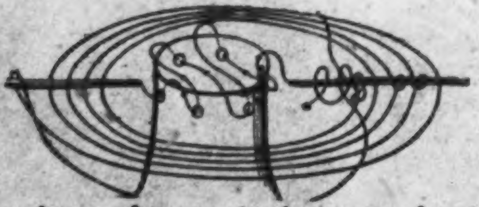


Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood, Cf. next figure.)





Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

281
415
484

[p.240]

Traveling knapsack made from a goat's skin.
1/6 natural size.

Small household knapsack, made from kid skin.
1/6 natural size.

word stem doro- which means "to bore." 196
That is a vestige from the time when the 372
original means for making fire, long since
in disuse, were little boring sticks such as [171]
the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari).

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, 281
or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hō/s, about 1/4 natural size.]

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

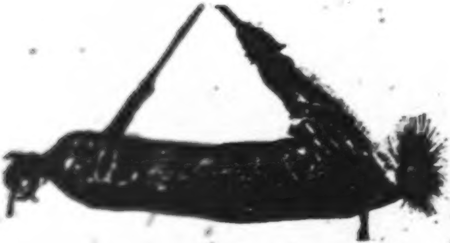
The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather ob- 283
jects (called sa.ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used.

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia [824]
horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips.

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ā‡b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes re-
fuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, [516]
they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips.

281
415



Doro //hō/s. About 1/4 natural size.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twisted individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

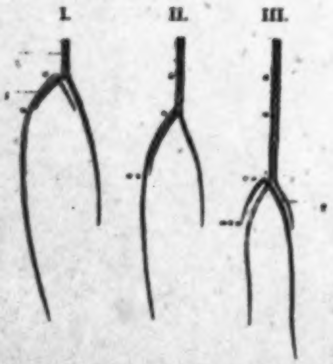
3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the loose ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twisted together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

The only useful object made exclusively [244] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ≠ũ/i.s, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 286
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 484
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

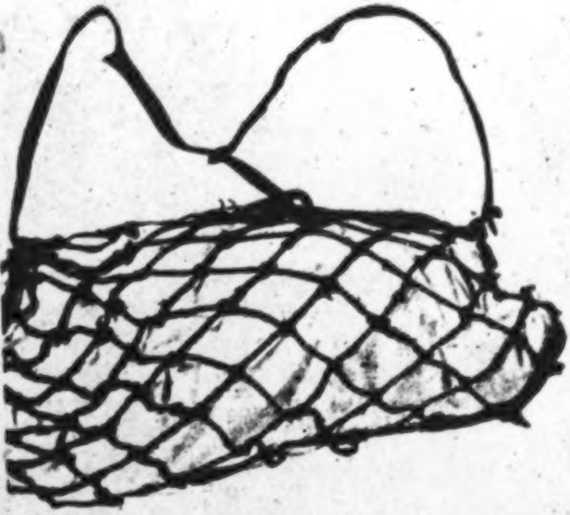
283

[p.242]



Twisting of long strings from short threads (plan).

[243]



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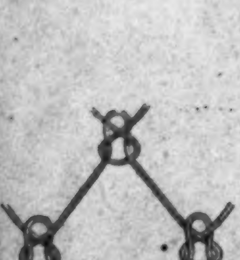
A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.



Making the sinew knots in the net bag.

Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly 415
for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: 322
the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare·s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes.[1] 415
Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root 284
fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoẽti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoẽti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ≠aigaĩ//hoẽs, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides 285
the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned, [227]
which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive 323
stages. 172

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading 415
and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[1] [Refer to diagram on p. 59 (A).—Analyst]

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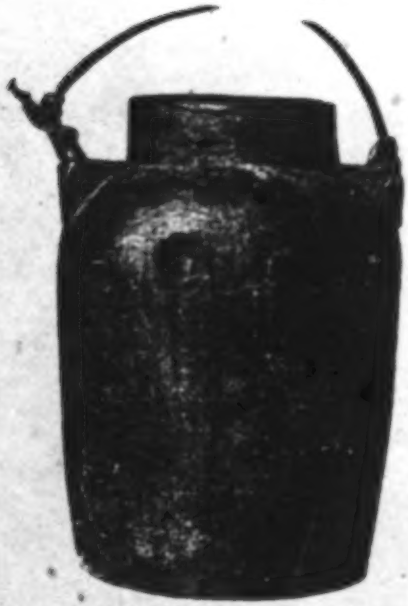
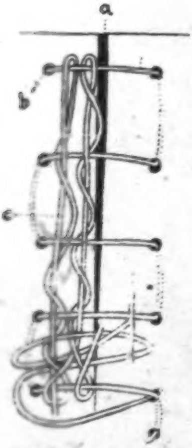
415

[7:244]



f

!ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo."



Repair of wooden article.

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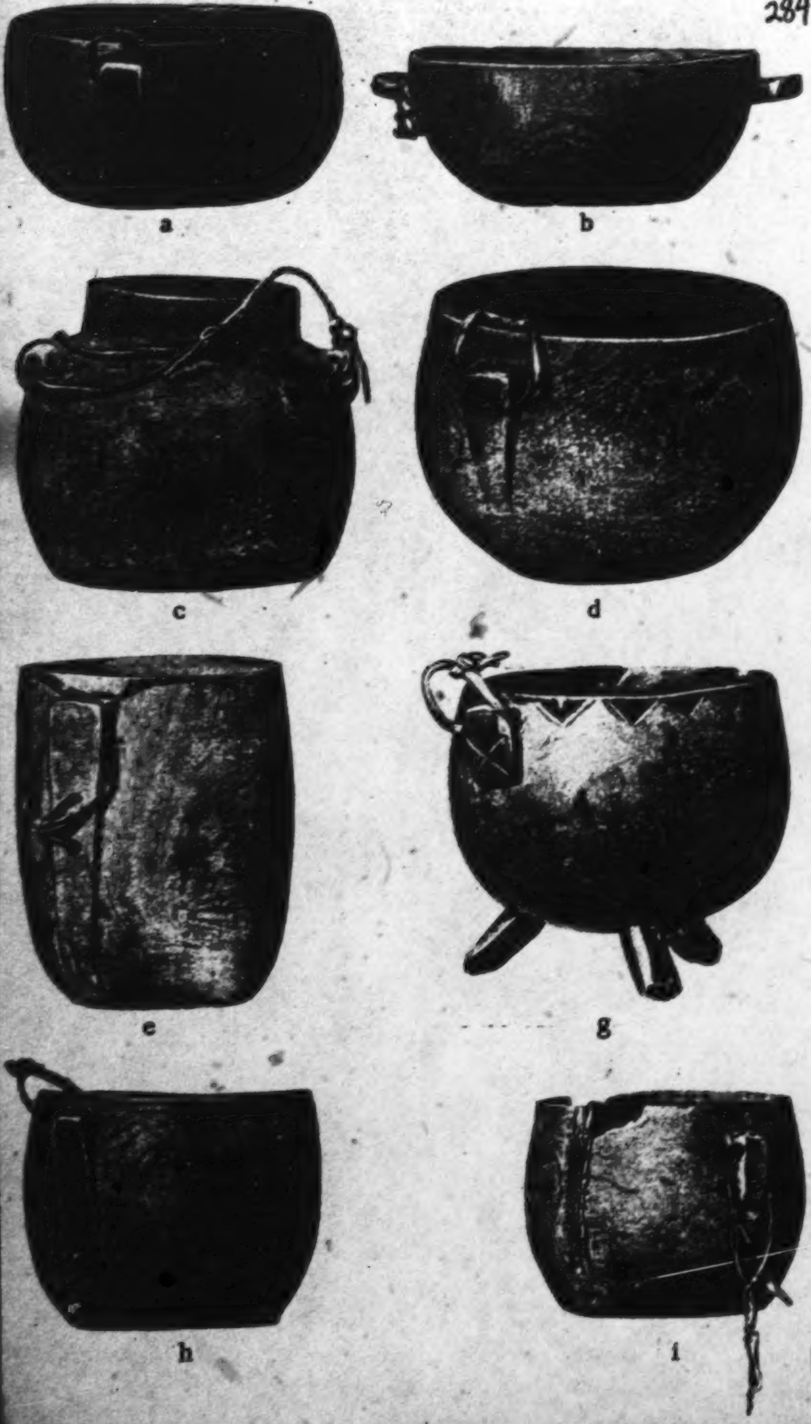

Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: /aigaĩ //hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ≠go/asū/s, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kχoē. kχoēsū/s, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears. 323 2 172 415

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gū/s, on the fire. 177

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.] 415 324

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine 412 324

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*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending. 193 196

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *≠kχanu·b and *≠kχanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.—Analyst]

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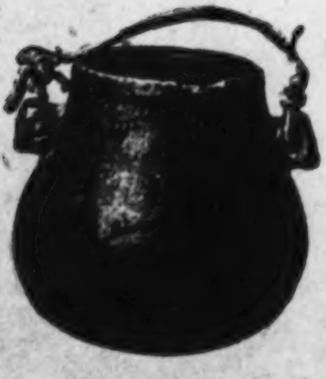
323

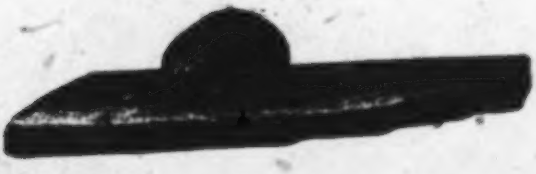
[p.246]



Baked clay vessel of the old kind.
1/4 natural size.

412
324

[247]



Stone mill for hand use. 1/4 natural size.

one by its masculine ending. The name for 193
the other one is the same except it has a 196
feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded.

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight 412
line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, 324
buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill.

The three cooking stones, !nō/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, [372]
the whetstone, /kxō-/uis, and the flint, !nō/hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use.

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the 324
gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for [135]
stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which
has been proved (42) in Kaukausib and on the southern side of the [317]

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42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are
known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his 324
knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones 276
that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !ha/i-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes 324
are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!k≠ōb, is used 276
in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f, a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha·bes.

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact 325
with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by 301
barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance [439]
of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available.

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring- 325
shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in 301
cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. 537
Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1]

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross-lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

[1] [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). —Analyst]

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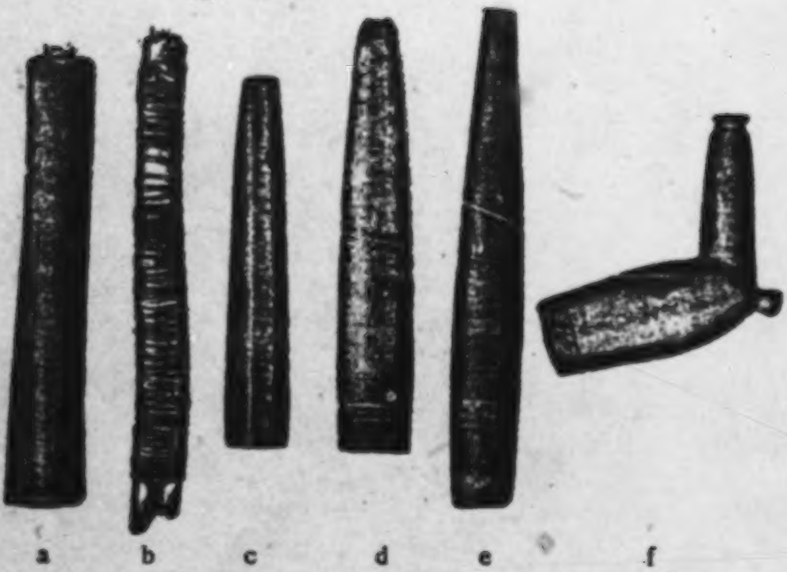
276

[248]



a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f a serpentine pipe of European design.

[249]

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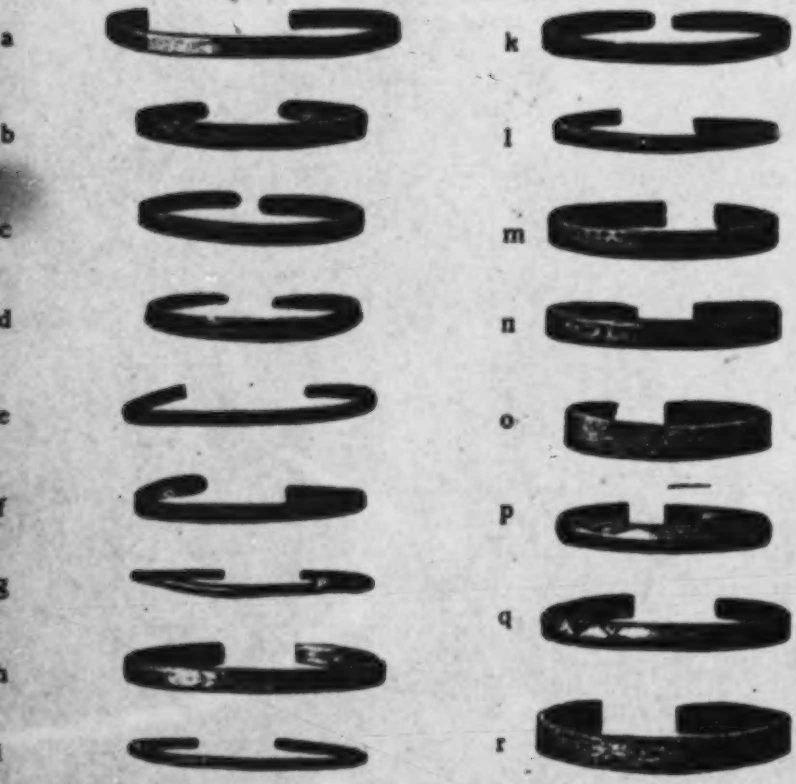
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
k
l
m
n
o
p
q
r

Bracelets, 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next 301
iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to pre- 325
historic ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. 531
Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i.

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (1). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, *!gamti*, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear 301
lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. 304
The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are

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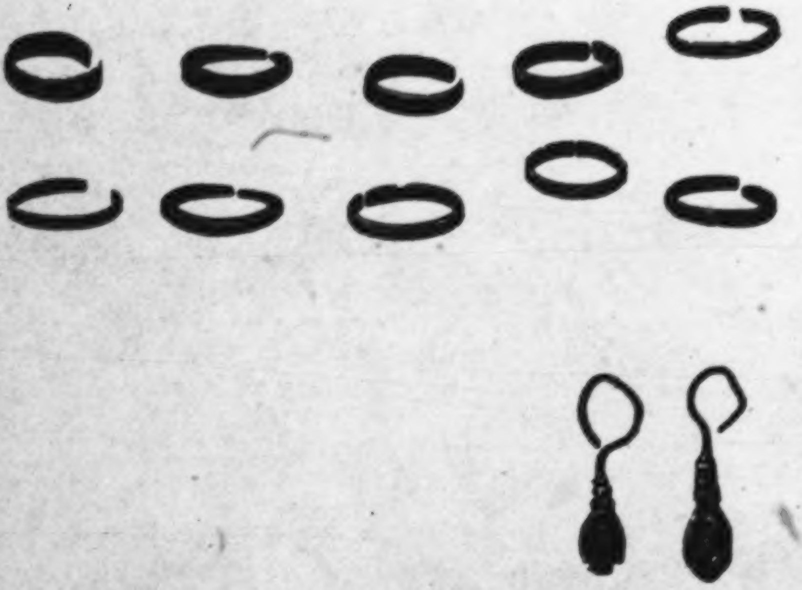
[251]



Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and re- 301
placed by an earring. There were many complaints about painful 304
swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings.
9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own 301
against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make 306
and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna [824]
species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire.
This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and
kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is
rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface.
Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills
over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood
goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alter-
nating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces 301
(called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often
combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading
value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely [435]
around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny
goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In
the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces 301
are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones 439
*ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of
little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

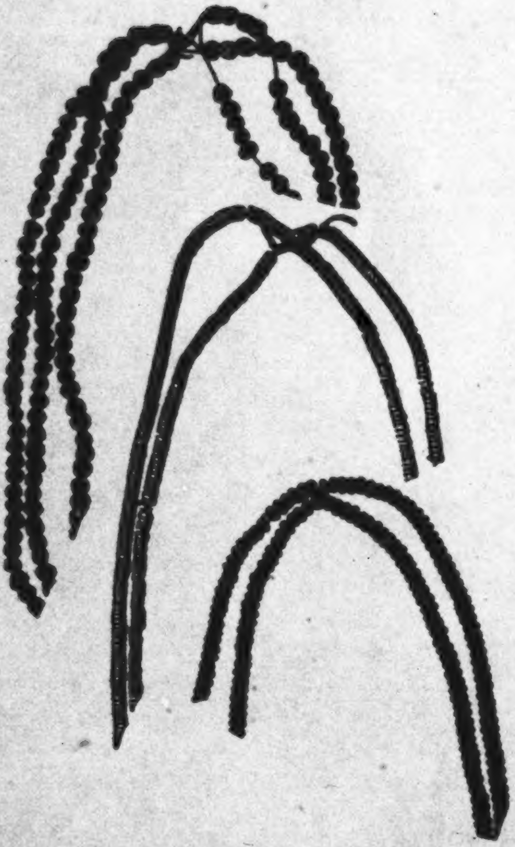
[253]

Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

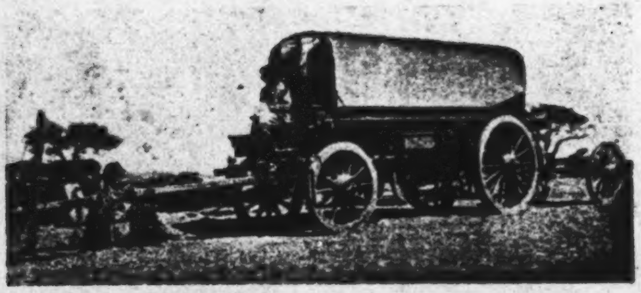
Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such 221
scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal [137
world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of 136]
the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable
wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get
a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these 224
herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, 233
which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the
regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever
to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture.
South African ox wagon.]

[p.252]



Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin.
In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.

[253]



South African ox wagon.

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures 221
(≠habu·, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experi- 233
ence. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more
urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know 492
enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an 493
extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats 484
and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox
wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the
Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering
Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which
he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen
in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled.
Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly sup-
planted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen
[254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, 233
if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and 221
smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals 484
can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary
for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning
before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for
them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields
overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest 175
cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape 233
of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his
diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at
times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle
as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nine-
teenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds
were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did
most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the 233
level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 178

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69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III*, Cape Town, 1897.

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

(71). E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

(72). G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

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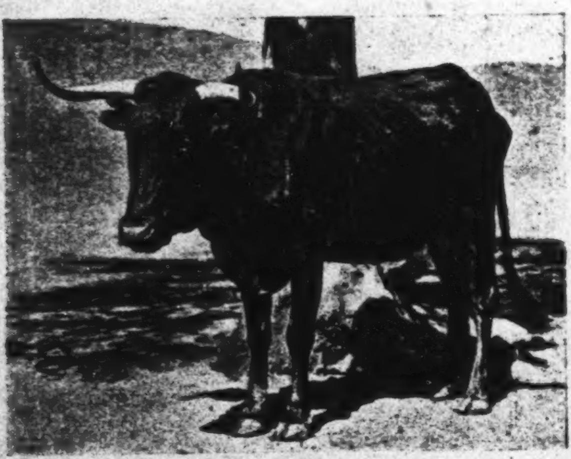
[p.254]

Namagua trek ox, about 6 years.

[255]



Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71. 3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53. 5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129. 5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and squattier body.

squattier body.] The only clue is a tradition maintained by the natives 233
and the settlers which designates a certain cattle type as native to 174
Namaland and the model of the old cattle of the Hottentots. This cannot be proved. It is probably only a general likeness. Two such cattle are presented here.[A] An expert on domestic cattle will perhaps be able to distinguish what is characteristic of the Namaland race by a comparison (73) of these pictures with those of the "afrikaner," the Bechuans' and Damaras' cattle. */hō·nati is the name the Hottentot gives [256] cows imported from Europe, whose most noticeable characteristic for him are its small horns.

> 73. H. v. Francois, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe). [n.d.] ed.

b) The propagation of South African cattle has certain common 233
characteristics in spite of the different racial mixtures. At the time of the best pasturage, i.e. in the fall when the summer rains of the so-called "great" period have fallen, in other words in our territory in March and April, the bull copulates most frequently and most effectively. Since the cow carries for nine months, calving time comes in December and January. The irregularities in the arrival of the rain and therefore of the sprouting of the pastures cause the time of copulation to vary and along with it the calving time. [Picture. "Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.]

The Hottentot keeps careful track of the increase in his herds by noting the life history of each individual cow. He knows the age of his cattle better than his own. He also knows about each cow in his herd, whether she is pregnant (*tra·nu, v.) and calving (!kχa/n/ĩ) for the first time, or whether she is bearing for the second or third time (/gam and *!nona· //kχum go/ma·s).

When the part right under the root of the tail of the pregnant cow loses its tension and the inner parts shake under the skin with every step, the calf is expected that same day. A herdsman [257] has to guard the cow then specially and bring the mother and the calf immediately back to the house.

The milk secretion of the South African cow, in contrast to our native cattle, has preserved its original function as a phenomenon of

[A] [See cat. 116, p. 66(A) and 66(B). –Analyst]

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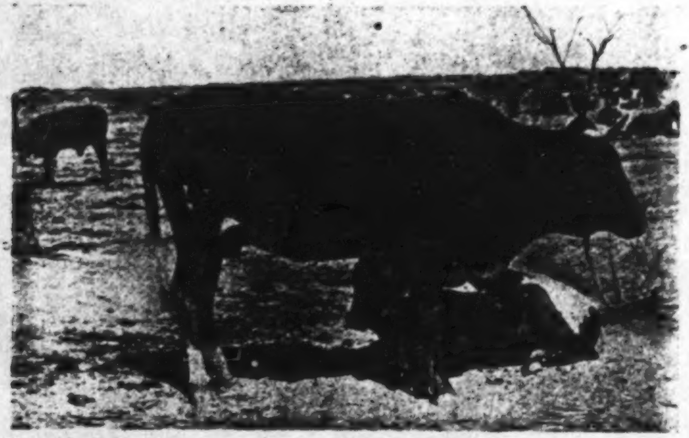
[p.256]



"Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to 233 the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go⅃mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */ō or ūʔ. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (≠kχa⅃m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish [232] to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu [171] tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *tĩ·bis and *χo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

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73. Ibid.

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called •tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk •tsaũ!gãʔ//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop.

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ≠nunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing [824] parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (•≠hīrasāʔb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called •!kxãʔ//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called •da//ha/mi.

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and [312] beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals.

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been sharpened for generations and practiced since youth, and then the knowledge that a mistake will cause him to wander around half-starved and without success for days, enable him to accomplish things which no white man can equal. [Picture. Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.]

The cows, go/ma·ti, are driven to the pasture early in the morning, then left to themselves. Evenings they come back of their own accord to the kraal. The milking cows know that they will find their calves there and the others are accustomed to go with the mother animals. Old cows which can no longer have calves are fattened for slaughter by placing them with the oxen. The latter wander farther afield than the cows that come home every evening, and therefore find better grass and graze longer, as they do not lose any time wandering back and forth. A sterile young cow, ≠gō/a·s (also called gau'//kχās i.e. fat body), is [260] usually left with the herd as an ornament because she normally stays well-nourished and has a shining coat.

The calves (called tsaūna until weaned) are separated from the cows in the evening after they have sucked and placed in a kraal. The kraal, !ha/ra·s (3. st.) is usually made by the Hottentots from topped thorn bushes, more rarely from stones and clay and is an outdoor enclosure about as high as a man. The mother animals bed down in the open near by. Early in the morning the calves are allowed to go to their mothers and then are driven out into the field in a different direction from the latter. They stay out until evening under the constant guard of a herder. Only when a calf becomes seriously thin is it allowed to go along with the mother to the meadow (sao', vb.). [Picture. "Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.]

Breeding in the sense of a selection of certain animals or a regu- [232]
lation of the time and place of propogation is unknown to the Hottentot. The bull, //gō/b, rules with complete freedom over his harem in the field, at the watering places and in the kraal. During the rainy season, from October and November until February or March he follows the cows closely. At the beginning of the dry season, after he has impregnated them all, he absents himself and lives alone in the field until the time of the first rains. Only when he cannot find enough water does he come near the kraal to drink. Otherwise he (//an) "lives" outside. Because of this and because of his bad temper, he is called

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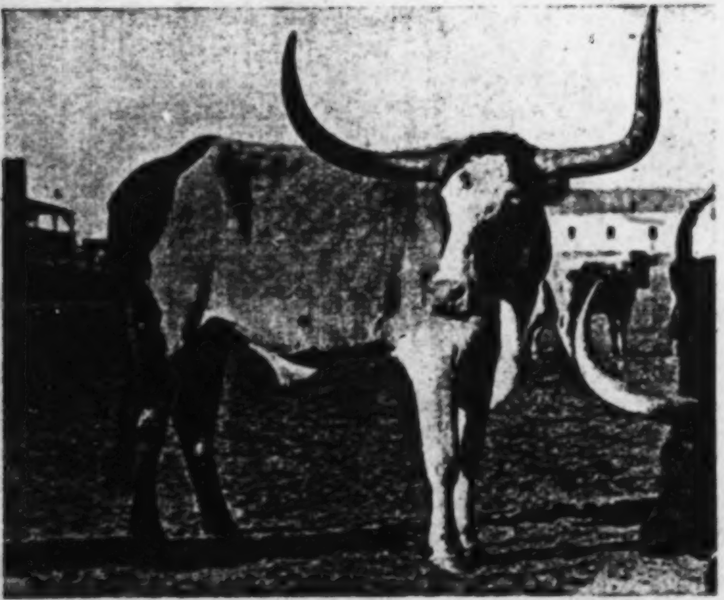
[259]



Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1, 60 meters.

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[260]

"Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.

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°//kχao//an//gö!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see [824] p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground.

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

c) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called °ǂkχamgoǂmab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep,[1] the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same thing. [171]

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi·, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term °kχoa·kχoa·dabi·b, because he has become

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[1] [i.e., whip. -Anlys F]

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A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long Zweep[1/a] the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.

[1/a] [i.e., whip. - Analyst]

"strong" (kχoa·kχoa·, vb.) by the postponement of castration. Actually 232
he is stronger than those castrated young but he does not have anything 233
like their endurance. [Picture. Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.] I was not able to observe how they train the riding oxen and the pack oxen (both called !ga·rub) and how they accustom the draught and trek oxen (≠gaĕgo/mab) to the yoke.

2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers 233
in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The [178]
fat-tailed sheep, gū/b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now fewer in number than the goat, b(i)ri·b, which formerly was not kept at all. [Plate XI. A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia. Hottentot boy in an apron.]

[263] What the original race of sheep kept by the Hottentots looked like can no longer be determined. The illustrations here show sheep that are today designated as the Nama race by the settlers and natives. The same is true of the goats. [Picture. Nama wether.] [Picture. Nama goats.]

Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

The lambs (//kχaogu) and kids (b(i)ri·rogu) stay permanently in a special kraal as long as they are little and are allowed [264] to go to the

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6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

[p.262]

Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.

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A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an apron.

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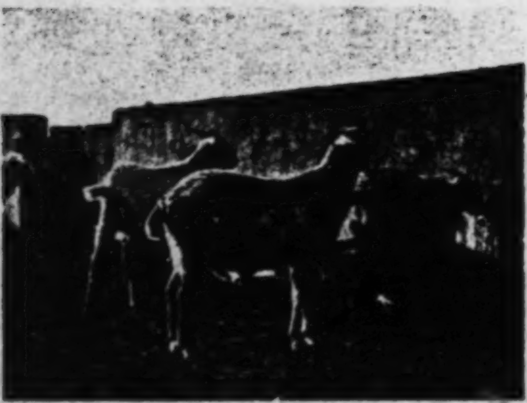
Nama wether.



Nama goats.

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (≠hau·ǃbe, vb. I heard older people say ≠hau·ǃr

The billy goat (≠kχaǀra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baib, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[565] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tsau· b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [262] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name,
233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat
552 race] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru·s and *χã·sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (*χã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual
233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

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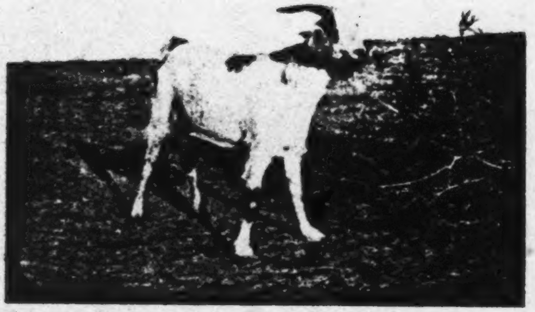
[p.264]



Kapater of the Nama goat race.

233 One is forced to define more precisely several popular designations. Checked: a few, large, irregular colored areas, often joined together. Spotted: numerous medium-sized separate colored areas. Speckled or dotted: innumerable, little, separate colored spots. We may disregard the solid colors.

a) The following designations are exclusively for cattle (unless otherwise stated):

1. */kχí!na/m: With any general coloring, a black spot on each side is characteristic.

2. /hõ,': black and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and dogs).

3. //gani·: Reddish-brown and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and horses).

4. *≠nũ!/garu: speckled with black and white, (also for sheep goats and dogs). The marking of the guinea-fowl, for example, is characterized with /garu· (cf. the leopard).

5. */a·ba/garu·: speckled red and white.

6. *!aũ!huni·: referring to the greyish yellow-brown coloring of the rock-rabbit; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

7. *!uʔri≠gui!gãʔ: white around the mouth, nostrils and end of the nose bridge.

8. /a·baχ!gã·ʔ: general red coloring with a white back (not the reverse as might be surmised from a translation that is close to it but contradictory in meaning).

9. ≠nū/χ!gãʔ: general black coloring with a white back.

10. *≠nū/!na/meri: general black color. Belly white to the flanks.

11. */a·ba!na/meri: general red color. White belly.

[266] 12. *≠nū/!nā/: general black color. Middle of the forehead and bridge of the nose white; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

13. */a·ba!nā/: general reddish-brown coloring, otherwise like 12.

14. *!huni!nā/: general yellow coloring with a blaze i.e. white stripe on the middle of the forehead and the bridge of the nose.

15. ≠nū/!ao: any general coloring, but a black ring around the neck.

16. */a·ba!ao: like 15 but with a reddish-brown ring around the neck.

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. *!nā/kχao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. *!huni· //gani· : yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. *!nā///aē: any general color, only white in the groin.

b) only valid for goats.

20. *≠nū/≠ūra: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. */a· ba≠ū· ra: spotted red.

22. *!goa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. */hai≠ga· e: white behind the ears.

24. *!kχan!gã/: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[267] 25. //aru· : (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white.

c) Valid only for sheep:

26. *≠u/niam· : black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws on a colorless insect larva (/u ni· s).

27. *≠nū!- or /a· ba-χō· b: with black or reddish-born cheeks.

28. *≠a· rib, also called *b(i)ritsinã·χas by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gē, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

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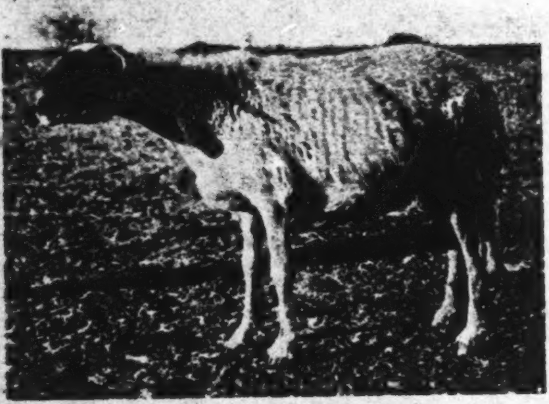
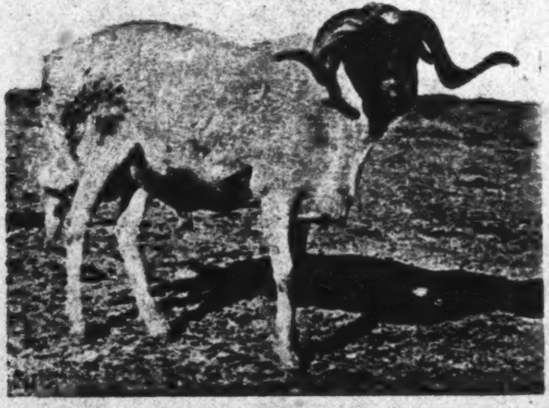


A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer states.



Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.

Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white.)

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama·, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

1. The Wild Animals*

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*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nĕn, [269] χa· manin, *χabaran or χamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D.‸ Oliphant) called ≠kχoa·b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (*/ĩ) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kχoë /uigukχa χa i gye gye !auhe ≠kχoana. okχa gye ≠kχoasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sĩ tsĩ: "tã kχaos /kχāb ai ĩ," ti go mĩ. χabeb gye ≠kχama go ĩ tsĩ ≠kχoas di /oasa mũ tsĩ ≠gũi tsĩ /ĩ go /kχĩ. ob gye gaiba: "tareë dĩ tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, χũ tomaĩ" ti go mĩ.

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‸ [i.e., Cape Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

Nowadays the elephant has vanished from Namaland forever. In the northern parts of Herero Land it is supposedly slowly returning.

Formerly the elephant was widespread in South Africa. In the Transvaal, in the territory of the Matabele chief, Moselikatse, Captain Harris found an astonishing number of elephants, alone in a valley, peacefully shut off, hundreds of giants. Today a hunter could roam through the Matabele land and the Mashona land for a year without finding an elephant. Kaffraria, Natal and Zululand which were inhabited by large elephant herds in the previous century are now forever depopulated. In northern Bechuan land (in the territory of the Bamangwato) and especially in [270] the Ngami Lake region the brutal business of the ivory hunters flourished. It has been estimated that for the annual world consumption of ivory a total of 100,000 elephants are killed. (74) South Africa has paid its tribute and is now bankrupt in the ivory market. Only a few herds of elephants are kept in the southernmost tip, in game preserves in the Addo-Bush, in the Knysna and Zitzikamma forests.

2. Of the rhinoceros, uncertain whether *Rh. simus Burch.* or *Rh. bicornus (L.)*, -- (Cape D. *rhenoster*), there is only a vague remembrance in Namaland, based on the name *!na/ba·b*. The name of the plant mentioned on page 201 indicates that the rhinoceros was formerly well-known in Namaland. As late as the second half of the eighteenth century the *Rh. bicornis* was widespread (cf. p. 168, no. 75) in the Cape colony. The last one is supposed to have been seen in the Addo-Bush in 1849.

3. The true quagga, *Equus quagga Gmel.* has been completely exterminated. Not even its Hottentot name remains for certain. Only once did a native mention the name */goa-χab* when I enquired after the vanished zebra that only has stripes on the front half of its body.

We have only a small amount of usable information about the former extent of the quagga in South Africa. It is certain that it once lived here in great numbers. In the great Karroo and in the plains of the northern Cape colony, in Griqualand and in the Orange Free State, it was usually found in the company of the black wildebeest and the ostrich. The Boers hunted the quagga to feed their Hottentot and Bushmen slaves and thus to save their cattle. They traded their hides

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74. H. A. Bryden, *Kloof and Karroo*, London, 1889.

and did not desist until the last quagga had vanished from the earth. That was achieved about 1880.

4. The zebra, !go·reb, is known to the Hottentots in two forms, which we differentiate as Equus Zebra L. (= E. montanus Burch (Cape D. wildepaard) and E. burchelli Gray (Cape D. bonta quagga). The first zebra, which the Hottentot himself designates as the smaller kind living in the mountains, he calls *//kχao·! goreb, probably from the spurge (cf. p. 150), the juice of which he uses to poison the animals [224] at their watering places. Another name for E. zebra is */hõ·ǂ !goreb, i.e. "the one marked black and white." This designation, which would be suitable for all zebras, is only understandable as a diagnostic term taken from its antithesis: [271] the dark striping of E. burchelli, that inhabits the broad plains, is scantier than that on the other kind, the white basic color of the body shines out and is broader and therefore they call this kind *!u-ǂri!goreb or the "white zebra."

The remote mountain country in the west of the lower course of the Fish River and the eastern Namib plains in the northern border country are the last refuges of small zebra herds in Great Namaland.

At the end of the 80's the Equus zebra could still be found in the mountainous parts of the eastern Cape colony. In the mountains around Naroekaspoort (74) (70 miles from Willomore) a zebra herd,

74. Ibid.

except for one male zebra, was killed by the Boers and the natives. The lonely animal attached itself to the horses of a farmer that were pastured in the open, followed them on all their wanderings, followed them even into the kraal of the farm. There the zebra starved to death, since it refused to eat even the food that was brought to him from his former pasture grounds. [Picture. Equus burchelli Gray.]

5. The hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L., (Cape D. Zeekoe), called !kχaos or *ǂkχums, formerly numerous in all the rivers on the Cape, exists today in only a few examples in the lower course of the Orange.

6. The giraffe, Giraffa capensis (Lesson), (Cape D. kameel,) called !naǂi·b, as older travel reports all relate, could still be found at the turn of the [272] nineteenth century in Great Namaland but is now wiped out there and lives only in folk tales. [Picture. Young male giraffe.]

7. The ostrich, Struthio australis L., (Cape D. vool struis), called /ami·b (Illustration with the folk tales) can be met in all parts of Great

[p.271]

Equus burchelli Gray.

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[R272]

Young Male Giraffe.

Namaland, and in greatest numbers in the transitional zone of the Namib to the hinterland. I also saw them south of the Orange in the Little Bushman land. 136

Because of its incomparable sharp sightedness the Hottentot also calls it •//gaʔba mũʔs (from •//gaʔba· = to see far in the distance, mũʔs = eye). The native hunter distinguishes among the females a certain hen that appears alone in a flock, is easier to drive off and has a tendency to grow fat. He gives her the name •sā·bes, distinguishing it from the other female ostriches which he calls •/hai·!noro·s, "the one with the fallow back of the head." /naba·b (3. st.) is the young ostrich. 136 224

Next to the ostrich the bustards, *Eupodotis* species, are the stateliest wild birds of Namaland. 136

8. The lion, *Felis leo L.*, (Cape D. *leeuw*), called χa·mi, has also disappeared today from the Namib and the bordering territories, its last refuge, and is only found in the northeast, in the transitional zone between Great Namaland and Kalahari.

9. The kudu, *Strepsiceros capensis* (A. Smith), called χaib begins the series of antelopes. Large, strong and of a wonderful symmetry, the kudu is rightly considered [273] the noblest horned wild animal of the South African savanna, just as in our woods the deer is, which the kudu also resembles in size. It is also like our deer in that only the male has antlers. There is no more beautiful trophy that the horns of an old kudu bull with their bold spirals.

The color of the kudu is a plain yellow grey. About seven narrow whitish stripes cross the back and hind legs. From the root of the tail to the back of the head, a stripe of somewhat longer hair grows along the middle of the back. It is too short to be called a mane. [Picture. *Felis leo L.*] But a stately beard begins between the lower jaws of the bull, descends down a middle line, decorating the front surface of the darker grey neck and continues sideways above the shoulders as a little neck-mane.

The kudu loves dense undergrowth and is restricted to the interior of Great Namaland in the mountainous parts. It becomes frightened when it observes an enemy. The nearest relative of this marvelous antelope,

[274] 10. the eland, *Taurotragus oryx* (Pall.), called !kχa/ns is quite the opposite in its outward appearance. The short strong legs with the clumsy hoofs and the awkward burden of the bulky, extended body reveal nothing of the antelope. The long dark mane on the

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[273]

Felis leo L.

136 forehead of the bull, the well-developed dewlap and the hump on the back over the shoulders rather give the impression of a gigantic bull. The long thin tail with its (black) tassel is also similar to that of a bull. The antlers of the male consist of strong stubby cones, of the female of less strong, slimmer and somewhat longer cones, which go up at an angle towards the back with a markedly protruding spiral twist in the lower half. Eight to ten thin whitish stripes across the back, which dissolve into the lower parts of the flanks, recall, as does the greyish-yellow of its general coloring, the skin of the kudu. The eland seems to be restricted to the extreme northeast of Namaland and even there is rare.

11. The "gemsbok," Oryx gazella (L.), called /gaēb, is the antelope of the flat semi-desert country. The border territory of the Namib and of the hinterland is at the time of the best pasturage his favorite territory.

The gemsbok has the size of a small deer. Next to the springbok, he has the most varied coloring of the south African antelopes. The basic color of the trunk and neck is a light grey-brown, that becomes whitish on the flag. A dark-brown stripe goes along its back, continues forwards to the short mane of the back, backwards broadly along the small of the back and into the long bushy tail, that at times seems very dark-black. A similar dark stripe extends from the throat down the middle of the neck and forks between the front legs. The prongs of the fork diverge as broad bands along the stomach and proceed to the hind legs. The white wedge-shaped field, which they have a tendency to bite into, continues to the area of the knee of the hind legs. A broad dark-brown band surrounds the upper leg of the front legs. The white area of the knees and hoofs is interrupted on the front side by a long, dark-brown spot. The black-brown marking of the face resembles a deep and richly cut mask which contrasts sharply with the exposed parts of the face that shine a brilliant white.

Young gemsbok, with little horns about the length of half a finger and bent at the ends, are colored an even light-brown. Only the bushy [275] end of the tail has a lot of black hair. A dark stripe that extends from the front edge of the eye towards the corner of the mouth indicates the black facial coloring of the grown animal (blurred over the forehead and nose). The Hottentot calls an oryx calf up to this stage /kxa·reb.
136
825 An older calf, the horn of which is the length of a small arm is called *saub. Finally the hunter differentiates the grown animal before the first

pairing as ǂnū///nā/seb, i. e. "black horn," because the horns still 136
have a fresh dark color, not the grey flaky surface of the older animal. f25
The native hunter calls the old gemsbok bull that has been driven from the herd, //naisib. [Picture. Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young springbok♂]

The horns (in the male stronger and stubbier) are like two strong 136
spears, ringed in the lower half, up to one meter long, which diverge slightly on the flat of the forehead and then rise towards the back at a slant. The Boer name, "gemsbok," which has been accepted everywhere in South Africa, shows, as do so many other names, what a childishly vague memory of his school-days the Boer had when he approached the animal world of his new homeland.

12. The springbok, Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm., called //gū^b, is in build, marking and size the prototype of the delicate light-footed gazelle. It has the size of a large deer. The symmetrical body rests on tall, slender legs; a slim neck bears the little head with the lyre horns. From the lower shoulder a dark-brown, wide band rises up obliquely and continues to the hips and separates sharply the light yellow-brown of the back from the snow white of the belly. In front, the brown of the back continues to the neck and the outer sides of the front legs. In back, it extends along [276] the outer side of the upper hind legs, but leaves the whole front half of them free. The flag is also white. From it a sharply drawn white stripe runs down the middle of the back and ends shortly before the center. The white of the belly also covers the breast and extends as a narrow band down the middle line of the neck to the throat. The face of the springbok is also white. The large dark eyes peer out expressively. A dark-brown band, that unites the upper lip with the front corner of the eye, enlivens the features. A spot over the eye and one on the forehead (at times, especially in young males, extended over the whole bridge of the nose) complete the simple, yet lively marking of the little animal.

The springbok lives on the open plains in herds of many hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. His striking movements have given him his name. The animals jump so high that in spite of the speed of each motion, a measurable length of time passes before they touch the ground again. They seem then, when they have nearly jumped straight up into the air, to stay up there for a second with all four legs. Even more graceful are the motions of these animals when they are suddenly disturbed and are propelled into the air as if by an invisible power, now to the right, now to the left, expressing their excitement in whimsical jumps which go half-forwards and half-sideways. Then they

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[p.275]

Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young Male
Springbock ♂

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu·nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called */gu·riseb or */gurimāb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [425]

13. The steinbok, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), called !a·ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "!aris kχoma ǂnū ǂguisa ū," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klipspringer (see illustration p. 278) Oreotragus saltator (Layard) (Cape D. klipbok), called //kχãi·is or //kχãi·sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handsbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni.
[Picture, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.) Steinbok ♀]

The skin of the klipspringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

[p.277]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.). Steinbok, ♀

15. The duikerbok, *Cephalophus grimmi* (Gray), called **tõa·s* or also **/ha/nu·s*, lives, as the steinbok does, alone or in pairs. The male, more rarely the female, possesses a short, straight pointed spear-horn. The duikerbok ducks to the ground as soon as he has seen an enemy, and creeps away to a stretch protected by the thick bushes that are its favorite habitat.

[278] The blue wildebeest, *Connochaetes taurinus (Burchell)*, called */gā·ob*, resembles, as does the closely-related gnu, pictured below, more closely a small calf than an antelope in its outward appearance, especially in the formation of its head, including the antlers. The basic coloring of the body is sometimes a darker, sometimes a lighter grey that changes into a light brownish tone on the small of the back and on the legs. The throat and the side parts of the front of the body are banded across. Sometimes they are broad, brownish-black, connected stripes, sometimes narrow, split stripes. The bushy black tail nearly rests on the ground. A long-haired semi-erect black mane extends from the back of the head to about the middle of the back. Behind the corner of the mouth, a bunch of hair like a beard sprouts forth. Towards the throat it becomes a thin shaggy mane that continues down the middle of the front of the neck for a ways. [Picture. *Oreotragus saltator (Layard)*. Young klipspringer,♂] I have seen neither the blue wildebeest nor his tracks in Great Namaland, only in Kalahari. If and where it might still be found in Great Namaland today, I cannot tell.

17. The red hartebeest, *Bubalis caama (Cuf.)*, called *//kxama·b*, concludes the series of antelopes in the hunting districts of Great Namaland. It may [279] still be encountered in the most northern and north eastern border territories (Komas Highlands, Rehoboth and Nosob territory).

Right above the prominent swellings of the eyebrows, the tower-like sub-structure of the antlers rises. In front, it drops in a straight line to the forehead and to the bridge of the nose that is greatly lengthened and slanted steeply. In back, it drops in just such a straight line to the neck which sets stiffly on the shoulders. Thus the back of the animal's head seems to be completely missing. The nape of the neck and the bridge of the nose on the forehead run to a high triangular point. Antlers, that are bent back in a remarkable way, are set in this area. They are massive in the male, slim in the female. [Picture. *Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann)*. Black wildebeest. A bull.] The animal's back rises gently toward the front and then with a hump over the shoulder area. The overall coloring of the hartebeest is a light

[p.278]

Oreotragus saltator (Layard). Young Klipspringer, ♂.

[279]

Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann). Black Wildbeest. A bull.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 825] [280] The tail is insignificant: "!naẽsi gye ≠kχaris ≠aresa ĩ" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest♂] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu· /garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (≠kχā = to refuse) to be noticed (≠hau/) (-he pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it '≠hau·/hesagye≠kχā·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is '≠hũiseb.

136 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called !a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back [522] seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kχoma gaχu !gãba ū," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. graauwkat), called /hõ/a,b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

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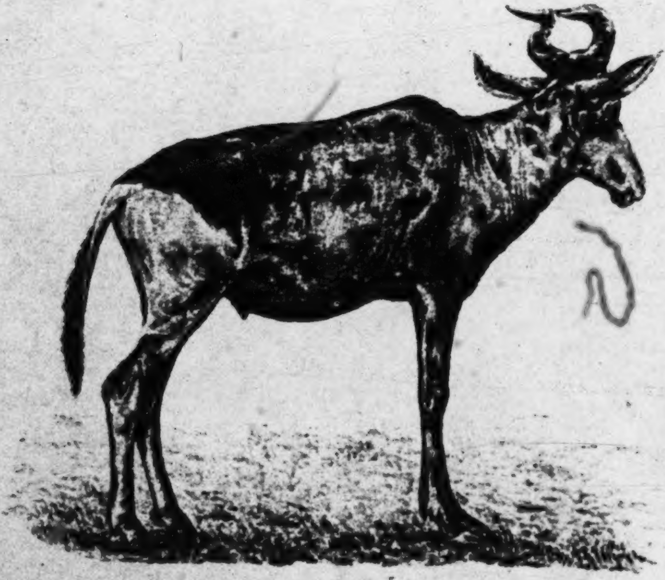
[p.280]



Bubalis caama (Cuv.). The red hartebeest, ♂.

136 resembles our house cat, the most but is stronger and above all has longer legs. The tail is slightly bushy at the end. The basic coloring is grey, mixed with light-brown tones, which are more prominent on the ventral side as far as the throat. The bending side of the front legs and of the hind legs from the heel down is colored more or less black. The stretching sides and outer sides of the front legs are spotted black, those of the hindlegs from the knee down have black crossbands. The rich black banding of the tail is irregular. On the belly as well as on the inside of the legs and in the area of the throat, the brownish-yellow sometimes lightens to a pure white. There are also black horizontal bands on the inside of the front legs.

21. The lynx, Felis caracal Guldenst., (Cape D. rooikat), called !hāʔb, is not uncommon in Great Namaland. The tufts of hair on the ears prove the identity of the pelt at first glance. The pelt is nothing special, colored an even brownish-red with little shading. Only on the head, ears and upper lip and on a stripe between the inner corners of the eyes and nose does any black appear.

Whether the other kinds of cats known in South Africa, the so-called tijgerkat, Felix serval Erxleben and the little Felis nigripes Burchell can [282] be encountered in Great Namaland, I cannot say. The Hottentots with whom I hunted, did not know them. The former is supposed to be not uncommon in northern Namaland (51), the latter could wander over from Kalahari in the east.

[857] 22. A favorite wild animal of the youthful hunter is a Viverridae, the "dwarf," a Cynictis species, probably Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), (Cape D. geel meerkat), called *!uʔri/ēb, not unlike a weasel in flight. The little animals can often be seen sitting upright in front of the holes of their colony.

A related, but somewhat larger and darker kind, the *≠nūʔ//ēb of the Hottentots, seems to belong to the Herpestes genus.

Whether the genet, Genetta, exists in Great Namaland, as I assume it does, I was not able to discover. It does not seem to be numerous although it is common in Little Namaland, in southern Hereroland and in the Kalahari and therefore could penetrate our territory from the south, the north and the east.

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51. K. Dove, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Ergebnisse einer wissenschaftlichen Reise im südlichen Damaralande, (Ergangzungsheft Nr. 120 zu "Petermanns Mitteilungen," 1896).

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /gaˀmirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha✓rebab or */ha✓retsub, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin than he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho✓mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [224 281]
[283] 26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /gî·rib, also frequently called /gai·rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

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* I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gîb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the designation for odor of fat is not /gîb but /gî✓b. */gî·✓ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

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57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The light golden-brown color of its pelt has also given it the name gold jackal. A broad black stripe mixed with white covers its back like a caparison from the neck to the root of the tail and the upper parts of the flanks. The last two thirds of the long thin brush are black; the throat and a line along the upper lip have a whitish color.

27. One of the prettiest of the South African jackals is the silver jackal, Vulpes chama (A. Smith), called !kχama·b. The round brush, as soft as wool, is larger than the thin body and is just about as long. The body itself is no larger than that of a Cape hare. The back and the nape of the neck, the outside of the upper legs and the root of the tail are silver grey mixed with a fine dark color. The rest of the body is yellow-brown, shaded variously. The broad end of the brush is black and there are black specks on both sides of the first third.

A belief of the hunters is that whoever says the name of the silver [224]
jackal while hunting will not catch one. Whoever is forced to speak of it, therefore calls it *≠gai·ʃhetoma·b, i.e. the one (-b) who is not (toma) called (gaiʃ) (-he a pass. ending).

28. Like the silver jackal, the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar) (Cape D. A-jackal), called //ā√b, is a small, harmless fellow that never attacks a herd. Its greyish-brown pelt is highly prized. The bushy tail is long, but thin, its tip colored a blackish-brown.

29. In contrast to all its South African relations the Cape hunting dog, Lycaon pictus (Temm.), is dangerous in the highest degree. In packs he chases the fleetest game, attacks herds and even men.

The Cape hunting dog does not have the fine pointed nose of the jackal, nor the broad skull of the hyena. One would be more likely to take [illegible] head [284] for that of our household dog. Its pelt is checked a blackish-brown, white and a light brownish-yellow. On its neck and behind its shoulders the yellow flows together to form several rather large spots. A dark stripe usually extends along a middle line between the eyebrows over the skull and continues over the nape, becoming narrower. The trunk and neck are very long in proportion to the head. Inevitably we compare the animal to a house dog and therefore the legs seem to us to be relatively long and strong. The thin slightly bushy tail reaches a little farther than the heels.

Because the front black part of the animal's nose stands out from the lighter areas next to it like a "mush beard," the Hottentots call the wild dog *!ga√u·b (from *!ga√u· = to have food sticking around
the mouth). The name of the animal may also not be mentioned on [224]
the hunt.

30. That the spotted hyena, the Hyaena crocuta (Erxl.), (Cape D. tijger-wolf), developed from a crossing of the leopard and the hyena, is the firm conviction of the Boers. The dark-brown or black spots, which are scattered over the whole dirty yellow-grey short-haired pelt (except for the head and the lower part of the throat), plus its lust for killing and the force with which the animal attacks cattle, actually remind one of the leopard. Otherwise the animal outwardly as well as by its inner structure is a true hyena.

31. The brown hyena, Hyaena brunnea Thunbg., (Cape D. strandwolf), differs from the tijgerwolf, in its smaller size, and in the uniformity of its brown to grey coloring which has only a few rather large vague dark spots. In the more beautiful ones the marking is somewhat sharper. Dark bands circle the front and hind legs. The markings are clearer on the former. The pelt has long hair, only the broad skull with the coarse stubby nose is covered with short-haired fur. The head sometimes seems to be peering out of a mane because the fur is especially thick and long behind the pointed ears and jaws.

How the Hottentot differentiates between the two hyenas just described, I was not able to determine with certainty. It is only certain that the general term for hyena, ≠hī·ras, is further specified in ≠nū/be≠hī·ras and !na/ibe≠hī·rab. I surmise that [285] the first word refers to the darker one (≠nū/ = black), H. brunnea, the second to the H. crocuta, the markings of which have always reminded the hunter of the giraffe (!na/i·b). Added to that is the constancy of the gender differences of the two names. The former always has a feminine ending, the latter a masculine ending. That would correspond objectively to the differences in the strength and character of the two animals and subjectively to the language sense of the Hottentots. But this is just mentioned as a guess.

32. The aardwolf, Proteles cristatus (Sparrm.), called /gī/b, concludes the series of predatory animals. This small predatory animal, about the size of a fox, resembles outwardly a hyena despite its gracefulness. The skull seems broad, the back slants down and ends in a dark, bushy tail, like that of the strandwolf, but the five toes on the front legs and the peculiarities of its teeth show that the animal is neither hyena nor dog and give it a special place as a representative of its own family.

Four to six black horizontal bands cross the yellow-brown trunk. They run into a black stripe that runs along the middle line of the back, which spreads out into a spot where the back is highest. The

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes [224 / 177] and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ·as, as wild game (66), has now vanished.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kχa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kχa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called */a·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tso/aru·s or tso/ara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *χa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

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66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

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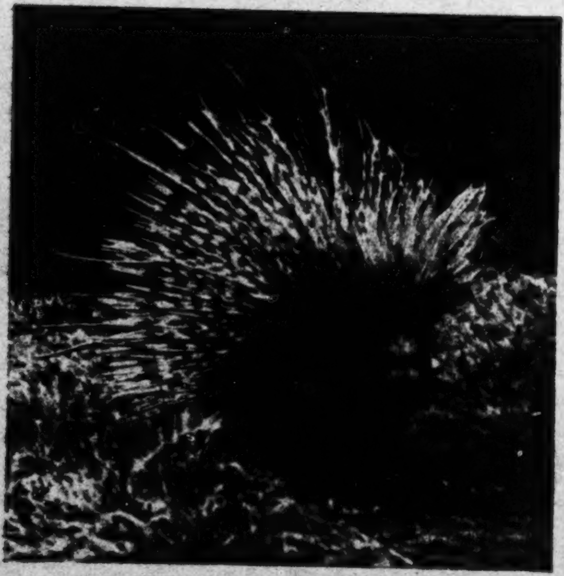
[p.286]



Hystrix africae australis (Peters.).

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa· = to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haēb. duru·s (3. st.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsū·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *≠goma·b. [224]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta ≠nã/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aũ≠b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gĩ/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kχubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called baus (in Little Namaland called !kχau/≠guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um.baus, and the "quick mouse," *!kχoē·baus, which can be recognized by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [857]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nē·/rab, or as the older people call him /nõ.rab, is seldom

nted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, 136
tinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kyē.aob, "scout," and 224
oldest leader as */ga/ro /nē/rab, because it presses toward the water
st [288] (!ga/ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in
herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill.

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of
boon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the
ange bush country. They call it */hai· /nē/rab, i.e. "pale baboon"
cause of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mis-
ief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack 136
eopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to 825
ery native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously
it the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth.

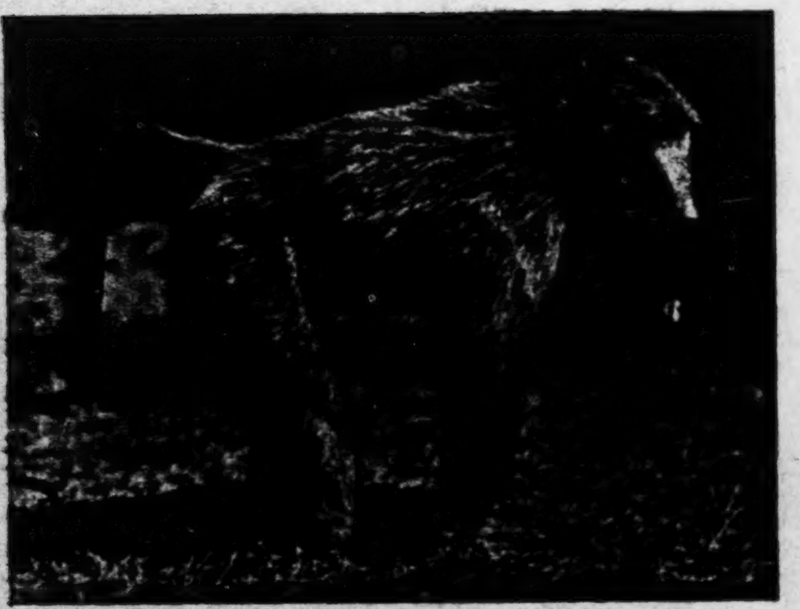
2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an 224
pedition, !ha/mi·, that takes several days or weeks.

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game].
ly the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game
guri·, //gaǂm, u/ru). First he sights the game at great distances and,
spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes,
cognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has de- [151]
loped the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intel-
ct to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One
ed only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has
en shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the
il is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly
vered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a
ndred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards
sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it
d will then point out the direction with his finger where the search
st continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground
overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the
rounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings
ck a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal
s brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours

136

[p. 288]



Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead.

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (≠no/a·s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haī/gõab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !ha/e·s, seems to have been undertaken [492] early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome.

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking [492] which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

224

A peculiarity of the oryx, which makes their pursuit easier, is their habit of always fleeing in the direction against the wind. An oryx herd that one approaches from the east, for example, will always flee to the north if there is a north wind, never towards the west. In this case one only needs to swerve towards the right, if the horse can hold out long enough at a fast gallop, to see the wild animals fleeing close by across one's path at an angle from the left.

c) Waiting at water holes is the surest way of ambushing the larger antelopes and the zebra.

[291] The leopard usually does not drag its booty into its cave when it does not have young, but tears it apart in a hiding place not far from the place where it made its kill. Therefore the Hottentot follows the fresh tracks of the robber from the kraal it broke into to the place where it ate. He kills it when it comes back to fetch the rest.

The animals that burrow (Orycteropus) or live in clefts in the rocks (rock rabbits) are ambushed in front of their holes in the morning or evening.

The sociable antelopes, especially the springbok and the gemsbok, wander during the dry season from the interior of the country towards the west into the area of the winter rains. They wander slowly, sometimes in accustomed places, sometimes seemingly blindly across the veld, towards the north winds that bring the rains. The Hottentot is accustomed to place himself in the protection of a kraal made of bushes beside the place where the game will pass (ǂga·rob). The enormous mass migrations, which the springbok undertake during droughts, are to be differentiated from the minor migrations that depend on the season and the local pasture conditions. The mass of migrating springbok (Cape D. trekboks) is at times so wide and so thick, that avoiding human settlements cannot be thought of. Actually the animals overrun the courtyards, trampling the crops and the gardens. In the year 1892 (74) the civil commissioner of Little Namaland had to distribute about 100 guns to the Boers to turn aside the charge of the springbok herds. In one case the springbok overran a farm in such a dense and wide column that a part of them -- since none of them could turn aside -- were pushed into a cattle kraal and massacred there. The column will divide around an ox wagon. The animals swerve to the side as much as the pushing animals

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74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 224
Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (ᵗdoē//gũs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

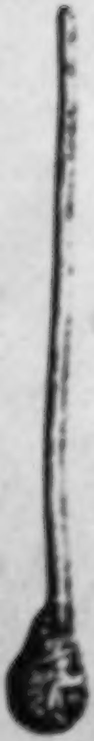
19. W. L. Sclater, *The Mammals of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center χāḗ, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nā̃·/ kχa, horns, or //oa·kχa, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hō̃·as, best made of tai[gu] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ǂgū̃ē or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kχaru !ōaß, χam χam /araß, naū̃ /aoß, aū̃ /aoß, aχagu χaẽse!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick [262
262] blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (ᵗχam χam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (ᵗnaū̃, aū̃ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (χa·es, is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a-χagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -ß, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.



A Kirri. 1/5 natural size.

[p. 292]

e) Trapping is well developed and corresponds to the Hottentot's predilection for outwitting his victim, whether man or beast.

Pitfalls, which the Hottentots seem to have copied from the Bergdamaras, are used for catching zebras. On the paths of the wild animals to the water, as a native hunter reported to me, [293] a ditch about 3 meters long, 3 meters deep and about 1 meter wide is dug out with straight sides and covered across the top with light twigs of freshly cut bushes. The Bergdamaras call such a pitfall !gai·seb.

Stone traps, !nu·!gu, are used for catching jackals and hyenas. The Hottentots build a jackal trap out of large flat rocks. It is about 3/4 of a meter high and about 2 meters in diameter and resembles the base of a little round tower. When closing up the top opening, a hole is left through which one can look into the inside of the trap room and hit the captured animal in the back with a cudgel. [Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)]. The jackal gets to the bait by a side opening. The bait is in the center of the room. As soon as the animal tugs at the bait, an apparatus made of sticks is loosened which causes a heavy stone to fall down in front of the entrance. Sometimes it falls straight from above, sometimes at an angle from the side. [Picture. Hyena trap on the flatland to the north of Chamis.]

The hyena trap is built stronger than the jackal trap. Heavy flat rocks are built up, so that there are holes but held by their own weight to make a square structure. The inside room is about 1 1/2 meters long, a good 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 - 1 meter high. Large flat stones form the roof. On one of the narrow sides of the [294] structure a wide entrance, 1/2 meter high and 1/3 meter wide, is left open. Right behind this opening a horizontal chink is left open in the roof and surrounded by especially strong stones, so that the wall will stand the weight of the falling stone. In the back or the room is the bait (intestines of cows and such) tied by strings along the floor to two upright sticks on which a stone weighing a hundred pounds is loosely set. By tugging at the bait the hyena pulls the sticks out from under the stone which falls down and seals up the entrance. A thick wall of irregularly piled up blocks of stone braces the side walls on the outside. The roof is also weighted with such stones so that the whole stone building is a structure 3 1/2 meters long, 2 meters wide and easily 1 1/2 meters high. Such a trap stands for years.

The "jerking gallows" (see Kalahari) is a good name for the type of trap used for catching small antelopes, especially the klipspringer. A fresh branch, thick as an arm and several meters long is placed firmly in the ground, the thick end down. A noose of strong sinew thread is

[p. 248]

Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)

Hyena trap on the flat land to the north of Chamis.

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows.

Spring traps, //nō-agu, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [295] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-s(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-a(a)das- wood. f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-s(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps *ǂhā/m-n.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

A. Family

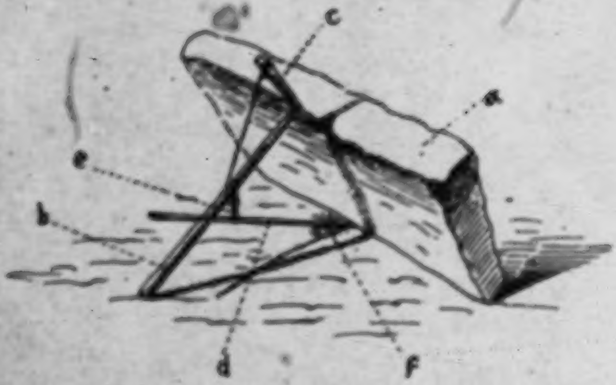
1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, !kaera-b or /ha/ha-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future

88/
[582]

224

[p.295]



Springtrap, a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge,
d) horizontal stick, e) !a· z(a)das-wood, f) bait.

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 881
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests.

[298] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where
it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 881
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal-disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na-ra≠kxa/ra-. (≠kxa/ra-b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 881
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 881
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/ʔm≠ui (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure. ≠u-i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called oaraes (not oa≠ais (57)).

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurabeb.

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57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

841
[145]

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//kχã/a·es(e)ni, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture. Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210). [302]

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race. [145]

b) Marriage, !ga·meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization. 581

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the *taob of the girl, the girl the *taos of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (tao = to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom. 584

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians, 584
832

142
291
301

Plate XII

Topnaar Hottentot girl.

[p. 296 a]

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/a/gu /hã k≠oẽra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate." 584 832

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality. 177 836 684

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him. 584

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gū/≠ās. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations. 585 431

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ˀsamago/mas. The term k≠ā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= k≠ā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara· s, in the husband's village is cele- 585
brated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601]
folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient 177
custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship 595
between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the 593
wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the 171
Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all house- 562
hold matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to 462
refuse her husband the right to enter. the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ.ǂra, to the children, /gõ· an. 854
Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She [601]
carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani· b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to 854
little children when they sneeze (sĩǂ). In other cases I heard the mother 866
wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow 855
for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only 422
milk for itself this one cow, āǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his [585]
milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents.

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments 177 86 for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to [861] the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half- [601] grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself inde- [601] pendent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, [836] who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising 888 of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been [887] preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti [601] //nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is 576 used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the 601 words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti·dãb or dā. tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dãda. b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the chil- [171] dren of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

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83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usu- 601
ally //(e)ĩb di //gũ/b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ/b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother).

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ/b, sa ĩ/b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb· di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is *õ!gã////gũ/s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation *abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names.
But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid [561]
norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as *àusis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called *sirō·s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as *a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called *bi·dirob.

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u/i·b and /u/i·s in the third person.

The wife is called *!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaē.s.

[302] /u·/iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·/igukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is 784
shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a 789
whirlwind: "/u/iaob //goē!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!" 784 789

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation. 601

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister •gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister •dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father •mīgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father •mī·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister •o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother •o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother •ais gais or •gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother •ai·ros or •ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the 604

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle 'ū//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [171]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

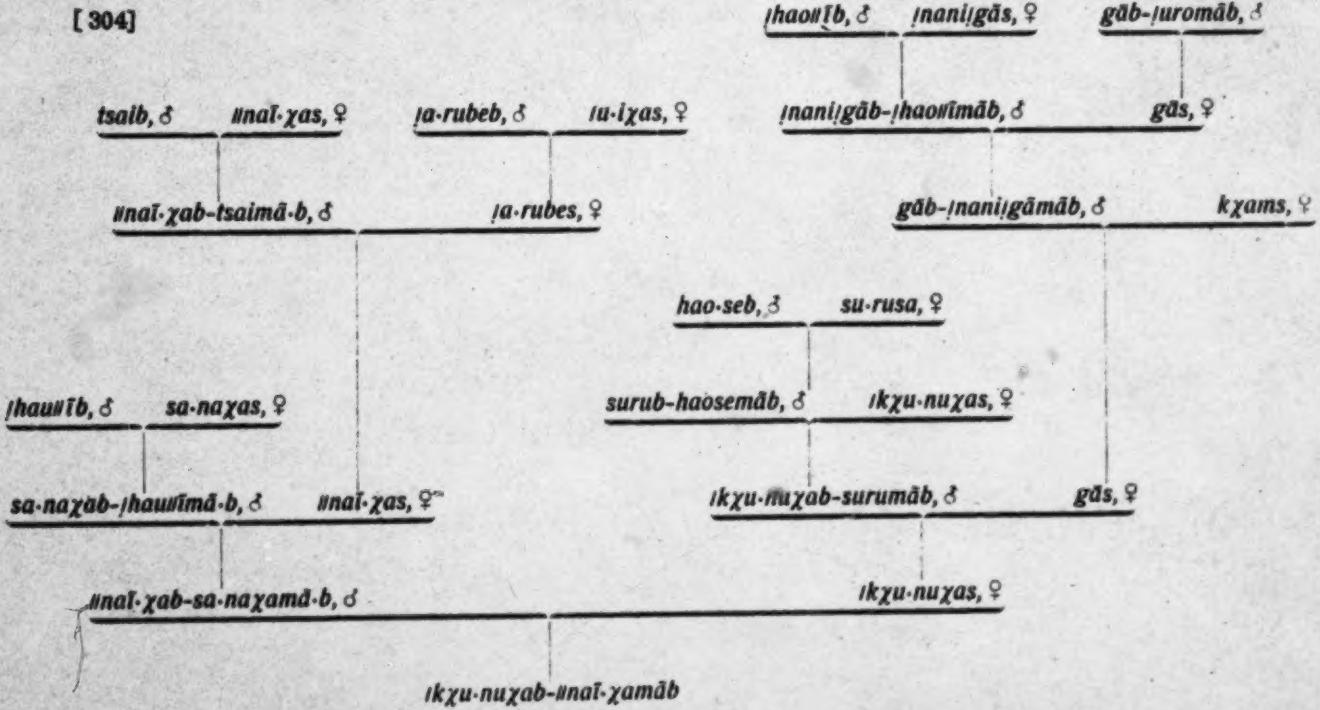
We have two chief groups of family names, /o·/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //k/unibes, the son is called

Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]


/hao//īb, ♂
/nani/gās, ♀
gāb-/uromāb, ♂
tsaib, ♂
//naī·χas, ♀
/a·rubeb, ♂
/u·iχas, ♀
/nani/gāb-/hao//īmāb, ♂
gās, ♀
//naī·χab-tsaimā·b, ♂
/a·rubes, ♀
gāb-/nani/gāmāb, ♂
kχams, ♀
hao·seb, ♂
su·rusa, ♀
/hau//īb, ♂
sa·naχas, ♀
surub-haosemāb, ♂
/kχu·nuχas, ♀
sa·naχab-/hau//īmā·b, ♂
//naī·χas, ♀
/kχu·nuχab-surumāb, ♂
gās, ♀
//naī·χab-sa·naχamā·b, ♂
/kχu·nuχas, ♀
/kχu·nuχab-//naī·χamāb

//kχunibeb and the daughter gomaris. 551

The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. 553 The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -mã before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //kχunibeb-gomarimãb. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaris-//kχunibemãs.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /kχu·nuχab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /kχu·nuχas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa·naχab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /kχu·nuχab: the chief name, which they have, //nĩ·χas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa·naχas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /kχu·nuχas), would [306] all be called gãs. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this 551
gap. We will call them, 553

b) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Hottentot girl with thin hair on her head was called ≠gāʔs, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called */gu·ru//a·reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name *!kχai·t(o)mab, as "one who is not (t(o)ma) cold (!kχai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called *!aũ·ʔ//kχui·b, "he who makes you wait (!aũʔ) in vain (//kχui·, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair */haihāb, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (!am) was called !a·mχab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: *hā·√gyeb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Hottentot designates a new-born being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: *hā̃·sib.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Hottentots and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of parental names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witboois which I heard many times: !hu·iseb, */gā̃·mab and *kχabu·b.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures, Plate XIII. Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Hottentot woman called her little son *≠kχa-ri!kχu·bib, i.e. "the little vlei." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it !a·nu≠nũi·s. A Hottentot child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called *≠nũ·√sagyeams s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

Plate XIII.

142

Topnaar boys.

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot 551
once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good 553
deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ānū/nūgū/hōatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 283).

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and 551
happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: 532
*//kūa-mab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kūaa, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-reshūa-tao/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *!ho/nūbē, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *//khāes-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who [515]
still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mi/kamaǂgu-ita-raaeb, i.e., as one "who has many (ǂgui) wives (tara,-i) just as an ostrich (ami,-i) has hens."

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white man even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *!ao-Xab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//ga/bu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-Xaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Pachydactylus species, *!na-nigyemūs, another one, because of his stamping gait *!nō-/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man !a-hatama!nao-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (!a-ba) on the wagon to load it" (!naǂo).

They called another !a-oaa/ā-hatana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-i) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ã i.e. 551
like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride 532
expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" *!nā/b by the men; by the women: */ā-sa!ā-b, because his penis (!ā!) was new (/āa) i.e. very potent.

That the bow-legged person (*//khō-aab), the person with a pot belly (*//ā-etab), the person with red hair (*/a-batana-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," *ha-bereb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named *!u-/hila-ogurab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called *ǂnū-soro!gā-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnū) there even when the sun (soros) goes down" (ǂgā/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 857
a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they re- 524
flect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd.

[308] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered 857
Eragrostis stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the 526
lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers.

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children 857
have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are ac- 527
ceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left near ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is clasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are 857
therefore called go/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious 526
soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the head in the game of raffling booty.]

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy 857
of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic 527
drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about 323
eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give 532
it nuances of color as well as hardness.

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.][1] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

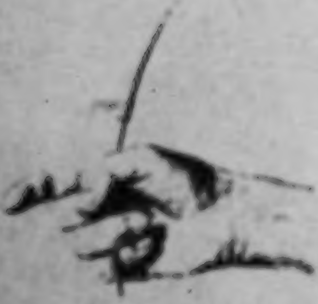
In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

[1] [Figures refer to p. 112B. —Analyst]

524

[p.318(a)]



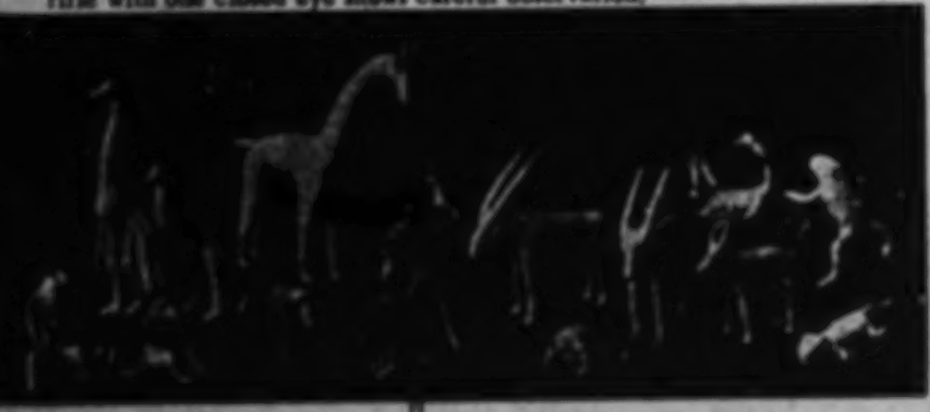
Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.

857
524
532
323

[p. 311]

I.

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.



II

3: Schultze--112C N-5 (1903-1909) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

857
524
532
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[illegible]

An ox wagon. The old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way.

[p.314]

9)

[313] Betting games are played by boys with throwing sticks in two 526 ways. A stick as long as an arm, called //a-rab, best cut from the wood [525] of a Rhus species or a Grewia, is seized by the thick end (about one centimeter in diameter) and thrown down flat on the ground with such violence that it bounces up and shoots forward like an arrow.

The game with the somewhat shorter */kχauˆs sticks is related. They are seized near the pointed end and, after a running start as in the previous game, thrown towards a bush in such a way that the twigs (the smooth Cyperus bushes are especially adapted for this) stop it in its flight. The stick flies in a wide or narrow arc with the heavy end towards the front over distances greater than I could span with a stone.

The children practice their finger skills with little juggling games. For 524 example, they hold three pebbles in each hand while squatting on the ground and throw two symmetrically in front of them, dropping both hands at the same time, -- as everyone believes, one from each hand. Then they open their hands and laughing show you three pebbles in one hand and one in the other. It requires no little skill to throw two pebbles from a hand which just a second ago was tightly closed in such a way that one falls down below the hand and the other falls sideways in front of the other hand. [Picture, /kχauˆs- and //a-rab throwing sticks.]

They compete in skills in another way by making twisting paths in the 526 sand and trying to run the paths as quickly as possible without making a misstep. During the game they call on a buzzard-like bird with the words: "hisarus, //gama daose, hisabes, //gama daose," i.e. "Hisarus, the waterway, Hisabes etc." (Why they call on this particular bird, whether it shows the way to water as the flight of the doves does, is not clear.)

The hole game, called //hūˆs is widespread in South Africa and played 524 with equal pleasure by Hottentot children and adults. I watched the natives play it with special interest since it demands thinking and is played with passion. Without reference [314] to the way this common game is played in other parts of South Africa, I will reveal here briefly the observations I have made among the Hottentots about this game.

α) The game is played by two sides (I and II) that sit opposite each other, with any number of players. The team mates can all discuss each move but one person carries it out. [Picture of the plan of the game.] 1/

β) The playing field consists of four rows of holes, each row having sixteen to twenty-two holes, dug out of the sand by hand, called //hū-ˆti, which are divided evenly between the two sides. In the first row (a) of each side each hole is filled with two tokens, in the second row (b) only the right half of each team's row. Small stones, often goat manure, are used as tokens.

1/ [For picture, see German text, col. 1b, p. 314. –Analyst]

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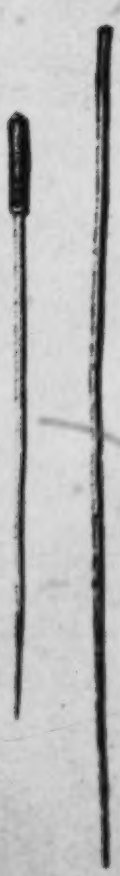

/kosqu/s- and *//a·rab*, throwing sticks.

[p. 313]

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γ) Four beginnings are possible. You can move:

from a^7 to b^6 and b^5
or from a^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from b^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from a^9 to b^8 and b^7.

δ) Moving the tokens. Only during the first move is one permitted to take tokens from the middle of one row and place them in the other row. After that one must move without skipping a hole and only counter-clockwise. Moving from one row to another occurs only around the right hand corner of the playing field (see arrow).

Moving consists in the following. The player picks up the tokens from one of his holes and divides them singly in the following holes. If the player ends his move in a hole containing more than one token, he must pick these up. They are taken out and moved forward. If, however, he ends with only one token in the last hole, the opposing team plays. If two or more tokens end up in the last hole that is used, and if at the same time the opponent has one or more tokens in the corresponding hole (of the same number) in row b, then one does not take the tokens from the hole where one ended but robs his opponent of all his tokens, which [315] lie in the row with this hole (i.e. all the tokens which are in the holes with the same numbers of the opponent's a and b rows).

One moves the stolen tokens according to the rules that obtain for moving them in one's own holes. The number of tokens in a hole can increase at will.

The winner is the team who succeeds in taking away all the opponent's tokens in the way indicated.

c) As an imaginative game, an amusement of the children and the women should be mentioned which consists in making certain rhythmic noises. The toy is called χa·bubu·s. A rectangular, flat little piece of wood is pierced in two places and a leather string is pulled through the holes. By swinging the two leather strings are so twisted that the piece of wood is set by *rhythmically tightening* and loosening the strings in a lively whirling motion as the string twists and untwists. Depending on the rhythm used they imitate the sound of a trotting horse, then a galloping one, then one running away. By blowing on the whirling wood they make the fleeing horse snort. A thin piece of wood serves the same purpose, the name of which, //ha·buhaib (from ha·bu = the running away of a shy animal) is evident from what has been said before. A little stick or a stalk of a certain kind of grass is placed between the lips and moved up and down with a finger, so that its humming imitates the rushing hoofbeats of a horse that has gone wild.

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[517]
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Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hā♩, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hā♩n) their life long. Each is the *//hā·♩sab or the */hō·♪sab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao·tse in the masculine and a·χase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life. 857

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown. 593

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field. [428]

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely. 764 [177]

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68) 764

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him. 765

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX). 775

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man. 787

B. The Tribal Community

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power. 178

1. Property

The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power. 423 [721] [619]

Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power). 422

Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "Iaũs ga ǂereza ota ni te ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you." 426

In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of getting some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood. 425 [579]

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving 431
for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best 572
called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ü soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly 831
in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those 684
families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned [837]
above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means 832
enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ā//nā", i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaiχāba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χãba ūts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." ("!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haī≠nũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (≠nũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haīs) The curse sa !gãsa χaē "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "≠gũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or *gao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mū//(e)īn and !nœabegu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorised power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, *in his own way a respectable person, its last* representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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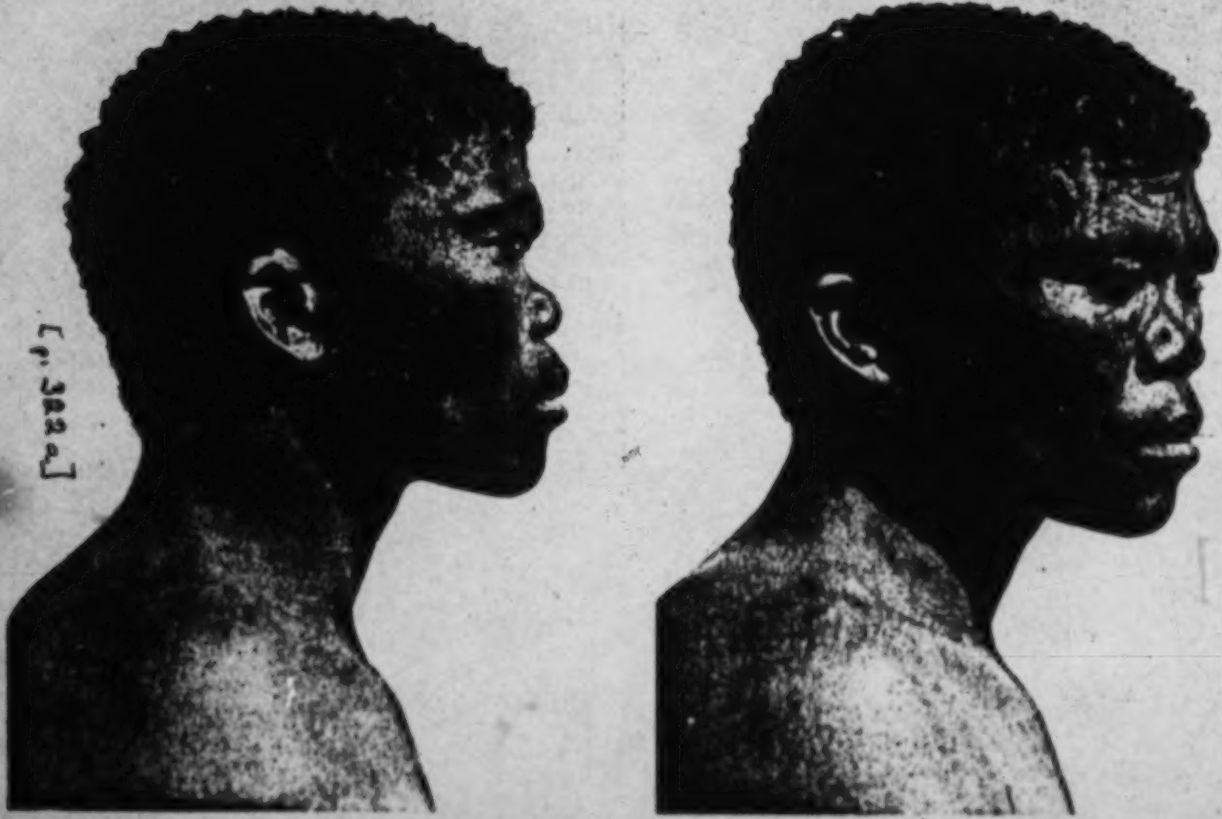
This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Khoi-khoin, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã !haos khoitsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

Plate XIV

[p. 322a]



Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.

either "na·ǃmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and 101 understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then 619 he answers: "kχoē-kχoēta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature [186] such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kχoë-kχoëta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kχoī-kχoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

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a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. [317] They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Bushmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras *χau·daman*, i.e. shit Kaffirs.* I also heard them called *ǂhau/ kχoin*, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."** A friendly

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14. G. M'Call Theal, *History of South Africa*, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

*Derived from *ǂhau/b* = manure. Krönlein (57) [11-1] does not know this word and derives the ~~above~~ designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not *ǂhau/* but sounds like *ǂhau·*, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better.
Schinz (50) mistakenly writes *|haukhoin* and his typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

57. J. G. Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, Berlin, 1889.

50. H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc.* Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

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half joking address, also used for the baboon, which the Hottentot sometimes uses with a Bergdamara, is */no·ro /kxo-nibetse, with a reference (unclear to me) to an edible plant. Or he calls him the same as a baboon, */hu-nitsi /hai-tse, mockingly, saying he is as pale (/hai) as the /hunis tree (a Boscia species).

[324] Of the tribes that are grouped together as Bantus on the basis of their common language structure, we can pass by the Ovambo, /nabe-n, and the Bechuana, b(e)rin, i.e. goats, as only coming into occasional contact with the Hottentots. The Hottentots have only tested their strength in centuries of ancient enmity with one Bantu tribe, the Ovahereros, who penetrated into the lands south of the Kunene about 100 years ago. (70)

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2. Aufl., 1894.

The power of the immigrating Hereros was broken by the Hottentot tribe of the Red Nation and the followers of Jonker Afrikaaners about the middle of the previous century. But from the beginning of the sixties the tide turned and after bloody battles the Hottentots were completely defeated. But a subordinate role of conquered and victors similar to that between the Bergdamaras and the Hottentots did not develop. [Picture. Hereib, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper center incisors filed.]

The great wealth of cattle, about which all the battles revolved, gave the Hereros the name go/ma-damab, i.e. "cattle Kaffir." Another mocking designation for the Hereros is *ǂha-/nomagye//habo-k'xoiſō-an, i.e. "the human - (k'xoi's, fem.) children (ō-an) with skin shoes (//habo-), who do not (tome) look around (ǂha/u)": The crafty Hottentot, who never leaves a place without looking back to orient himself as to what is happening behind him, thus expresses the heedlessness of his opponent with this nickname.

2. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the White Race

a) The first contact of the Hottentot with the white man, /hūb, occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, in the golden age of the Portuguese. Curiosity and a thirst for knowledge on the explorers' part but also fear on the Hottentots' part were naturally the dominant feelings at the first meeting. So Vasco da Gama's people (12) had to surround the natives whom

12. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I-VI, London, 1888-1902.

Herero, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper central incisors filled.

[p. 324]

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they discovered in November, 1497, at the foot of a hill in the St. Helena Bay and catch them like wild animals to have any contact with them. The good treatment of the one captured and the rich presents received when released lured others of his tribe to the ship. They also got something and so both sides were pleased.

Distrust, based on the impossibility of understanding each other properly, soon split the recently formed bonds. The soldier, Fernão Veloso, was on his way accompanying the natives to their village, when he suddenly got suspicious of their intentions and hurriedly turned back to the ship. The Hottentots followed him -- as it seems without hostile intentions, because it would have been easy for them to kill him. The men on the ship were mobilized and landed with their weapons and the parties separated with bloody heads, without really knowing what was the reason for the whole affair. Distrust also seems to have been the reason for a skirmish that Saldanha had in 1503 with the Hottentots near Table Mountain by Capetown.

The rash decision to revenge a scuffle between Hottentots and soldiers of the ship with a punitive expedition, in which the soldiers were apparently at fault, sent over sixty Portuguese to their destruction on the first of March, 1510. It seems incomprehensible to us today how the Viceroy of India, Francisco d'Almeida, who was travelling through, could not only tolerate but also personally lead an expedition of revenge and cattlerobbing during which even children were abducted from the peaceful kraal, all for the sake of avenging a trifling matter which had cost no lives, but merely wounded his pride. *He and a dozen of his dignitaries were killed* by blows from sticks, stones and assegais while doing this.

The successors to the Portuguese at the Cape, the English (see p. 34) had good experiences with the Hottentots. The trade went well (a sheep was traded for a knife, an ox for two knives) [326] and there was no friction. But in the long run the relationships of the whites to the natives have suffered under the Portuguese as well as the English from their sending criminals to the Cape, men who have forfeited their lives or freedom at home but who still seem to be unable to track down Hottentots. Although we know little about the fate of these deported people and almost nothing about their activities, still it only seems likely that they have not inspired the natives with confidence or respect for our race.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch entered a badly predisposed country. They did nothing to improve it (69) until Johann van

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, part. I-III, Cape Town, 1897.

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Riebeeck realized that the opening of the natural resources of the country was only possible with the assistance of the natives and systematized the relations of the yellow and white races.

For understanding the time of the first close contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots the diary of van Riebeeck is a most valuable document because it describes not only the facts but also in the short daily phases of development which are precisely noted, he documents the motives and aims of the people involved. Here not only the historian but also a person who watches the meeting of two extremely different human races with psychological interest comes to account. We must be content here with merely a few hints. In the first stage a mutually friendly and obliging 457 manner reigned and peaceful trade was concluded on both sides. Copper and tobacco and also spirits were the best articles for barter. Three 648 pounds of hammered copper and one third of a pound of tobacco was the price of a cow, a pound of flat copper and some tobacco for a sheep, one quarter of a pound of copper wire and some tobacco for a lamb. Game, sometimes elephant teeth and young ostriches were traded cheaply.

In the second stage a decline in the desire for copper brought on a price increase on the part of the Hottentots. After they had enough copper, the Hottentots no longer wanted to sell their cattle, from which they lived. But freshly slaughtered meat was a necessity for satisfactory provisions for the travelers to India and since provisions were the only purpose of the white settlement in South Africa, ownership of cattle was just as much a question of life for the Dutch on the Cape as it was for [327] the Hottentots. And so the first discord appeared and with it the old distrust -- not without reason -- on both sides. The Hottentot could not resist the temptation to take possession of his sold cattle again and stole. What he sells from now on is of inferior quality. He gives the white men hope that the next ones will be better and in the end deceives them.

On the other hand the Dutchman, incensed by this behavior of the Hottentots, have their own crooked designs. He waits for the proper 648 moment to further his own interests brutally and conceals his plans till then. Just as previously in England using criminals as an avantgarde against the Hottentots was justified with the reason that it was "a very merciful deed for these criminals and a way to lead them to God since they were given time for penance and for praying for forgiveness of their sins etc.," in the same way the Dutch-Indian Trading Company received the following recommendation from the officers (July 26, 1649) concerning the erection of a fort on the Cape: not only was it good business but by converting heathen "many souls would be brought to God -- certainly the very best deed for the glorification of the Highest One and for the spreading of His holy Gospel. In this way your undertaking in India will be blessed again and again." Van Riebeeck also believes that he will attain his goal without offering God shares of stock. He hopes to exploit the Hottentots' blind confidence at the right moment to rob cattle on a large scale and to capture a lot of slaves for India (Entry in the diary for the 13th of December, 1652). For this purpose he suppresses his annoyance, is friendly and considerate, all of which the Hottentots take for weakness. At the same time bitterness increases on their part as the native sees himself pushed out of valuable stretches of pasture by the foreigners.

In the third stage open enmity appears, complicated by the traitorous behavior of individual influential Hottentots who are playing a double game with the Dutch. Theft of cattle and murder here and there seems to eliminate all chance of an agreement but after a while peaceful relations are renewed and barter flourishes again. This unpredictable switch from friendship to enmity characterizes the relationship of the whites [228] to the Hottentots from the beginning and characterizes it up to our day as the relations of the two races moved beyond occasional friction to the stage of a conscious and ever deepening collision of interests.

We do not wish to give a history of the Hottentot wars. He who would write about them, would have to study in detail how the Cape Colony of the British Empire grew from the little stronghold and vegetable garden of the Dutch Indian Company. We are only concerned about becoming acquainted with the people who were in command on the white side in the battles of the following centuries. We must use van Riebeeck's colony as a base. It received reinforcements first of all from Holland and from France after the revoking of the Edict of Nantes. These are the ancestors of the present-day Boers.

b) The Boer has become the cultural pioneer of South Africa. A tough body, a fertility undiminished by the new climate, endurance and a minimum amount of physical and spiritual needs enabled him to found permanent settlements with the few cultural means which he brought from his homeland and to push deeper and deeper into the interior of the country. History depicts him as a brutal egoist. In order to understand the Hottentot's opinion of him, it is necessary to seek out the Boers who live in the remote northern parts of the Cape Colony today. You will still find here strong remnants of the autocratic feelings that became second nature to the Boers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on his lonely frontier post of civilization. He only feels at home there if no white man comes within four miles of his hut, where he himself prescribes the rights and customs for his family and especially for the natives who are in his power. Today he grudgingly gives in to the law before which the native is a being with 649 human rights. The idea that one has responsibilities to one's neighbors, when combined with the idea of the common weal, involving some denial on the part of the individual, is but a vague concept for this family hermit in northern Little Namaland, either politically, socially or religiously. Even a formal marriage contract often seems unnecessary to him. That his children are legally illegitimate does not bother him. That they grow up unbaptized does no damage to the standing of Christian families among his own kind. At the end of the nineties an English minister discovered such paradisical conditions [328] in the area between the mouth of Orange River and Port Nolloth. Then bearded men were baptized and grandparents married to make the grandchildren legitimate. The only social instinct that the Boers still possess is their hospitality.

This lack of political unity degrades the Boers of Namaland in the eyes of the Hottentots. The hereditary captaincy is the proud expression of a tribal right to the possession of land as well as of an orderly (according to his concepts) national life. From this standpoint the Hottentot, aside from his hate of the intruder, despised and still despises the Boer settler as a newcomer and masterless person, and points to the Germans in contrast who, as he does, have a captain and are one nation as he is.

Much stronger than such national feelings are the purely human feelings which have alienated the Boers from the Hottentots for ever. The Boer has always openly treated the natives with such a scorn for the colored race making an understanding impossible by its very nature. This scorn is characteristic of the Caucasian at a low level of racial and national consciousness. Even today the Boer calls the Hottentot a "schepsel," i.e. a creature in the sense of a being that happens to exist next to him as so many other mysterious and unnecessary things do in the world. Or he calls the Hottentot "geel goed," "yellow goods" which one can harness or trade, as one does cattle. The custom of seizing Hottentot children and rearing them "groot maak" is less rewarding than formerly when the master still had complete power over the life and death of his slaves and punished disobedience or running away by shooting them. That the culture penetrating the country has taken away these ancient rights is the chief reason why the Boers whom I met in Little Namaland despise the English rule (which otherwise leaves them as free as can be imagined).

These Boers were strangely disappointed when they discovered that the Hottentots also have rights in the German territory to which they wished to migrate. When I became better acquainted with the Boers, I tried to get an explanation from them, as to what they imagined that their God, before Whom they knelt three times a day, might think of their concept of neighborly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament [230] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities. In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them? What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new. In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide: the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of law is inadequate according to this concept. 648

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions, which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older reports of this society can measure the difference between the present day Nama-Mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migrations and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from marriage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the government gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [231] The swing towards 737 the better in the material conditions of life at the mission has certainly 787 contributed not a little to the solidifying of their prestige among the Hottentots. But even aside from this the Hottentot has a great measure of reverence and (when he does not have to fear shocking pious feelings) trust for the missionary in the knowledge that he has in him the best representative of his spiritual and bodily interest.

Only a blind enemy of the mission would fail to recognize the meaning of this bridge which Christianity has built for the peaceful understanding of two heterogeneous yet interdependent human races and its importance for the cultural development of the country. But it is also as clear as day that the mission will become the curse of the land when it loses sight of the political or economic good of the country in a one-sided pursuit of clerical and hierarchical aims. For the most part this well-being depends on the extent to which the struggle of the various interests of the native and of the invading races can be peacefully regulated in proportion to the economic contributions of the competitors. This is a truth that is often ignored both by the humanistic utopian as well as by the apostle of power. It is necessary to picture the disasters of the native labor question in the Cape Colony in order to understand how economical it is to be able to combine one's interests with those of the native (even if it is only the despised Hottentot). The first condition is naturally an exact knowledge of the necessities of life and the ideas of the natives. As long as it is only the missionaries (with a few exceptions), who find it worthwhile to establish this contact on the basis of thorough studies, just so long the mission will have a high secular trump in its hand. It has played it successfully during the eighties in the Herero country and in Namaland, by disabling English influence in favor of German. (75)

75. C. v. François, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi, Berlin, 1899.

How do matters stand in spiritual affairs? Can the mission be satisfied with the successes in the Christianization of the Hottentots?

Older missionaries with whom I spoke gave a negative answer. The work of nearly a century should have ripened other fruit. To what extent a Hottentot is able to accept the spirit of Christianity so that it determines not only what he does not do but also what he does, could best be judged by an unprejudiced missionary. My own [330] studies and experiences in this area have been confirmed too frequently for me to believe them to be unfavorable and happenstance judgments which biased my general opinion. Although I generally mixed with those Hottentots who did not belong to the elite of the missions, I also avoided the lowest level which would have readily given me good reasons for the most pessimistic judgment. 797

Not the least part of the average Hottentot's judgment of Christianity is that it is an advantageous attribute of the white man. Just as he considers himself better in the white man's jacket, trousers and bright coat than his brother or sister in a skin apron, so he also sees his membership in the Christian church as a social accomplishment in keeping with the rank of modern Hottentot. This view is usually combined with disdain for the old customs of his people, even when they do not come in conflict with the new religion. One might accept this mutilation of the self if it were only the overzealousness of energetic resolution to elevate oneself to a new level. But the Hottentot is too lazy and also smart enough to see clearly the contradiction of Christian theory and practice in the social and private life of the white man (cf. folk tale XXVIII), to set himself different ethical ideals than those from the heathen era that at best still serve as the social norms of his own people: loving one's neighbor which for the Hottentot means reciprocal help, respect for age, restraint in regard to the property of others (if only in regard to that of other tribal members), these are all autochthonous commandments that coincide with those of Christianity.

The folk tales and the other imaginings of the Hottentots had perhaps so little in common with Christianity that the two could not be organically joined, as germanic heathen traditions were to Christianity. The moral principles and rules of conduct of the Hottentots that we have learned about are rooted in the tradition of folk customs. The loss of these folk principles along with the complete revolution in the economic basis of their existence since the dominance of the white man has left the Hottentots ethically ruined. Such destruction cannot be repaired with a Bible, catechism, hymnal, attendance at church, Sunday school, holy communion and classes in reading, writing and singing. That attempts have been made to reach such a goal by these methods, would never be held against the individual missionary who has dedicated his life to these people. [331] The harm lies in the system. Only he may bear the name of the Founder, whose whole life was a single great self-sacrifice, who is at least capable of the smallest sacrifice in the service of his fellow man, namely, of work, even though it be only for

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become 797
Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the in-rushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the missions.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The 648
Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

This scorn may be humorous or bitter depending on the experiences and situation of the individual, but usually there is combined with it our feeling of enormous superiority that seems to make any closer study of the Hottentot unnecessary. We think we can manage him without this knowledge. 648

In addition enormous contrasts appear in our dealings with him. A captain, whom on occasion an official invites into his house as a "leader," is offered hospitality by a trader with the words "Will you have a schnapps, old pig?" On the one hand a white man is punished because he ejected a wise-aleck Hottentot bodily, but on the other hand an official in an understandable rage dealt out stripes himself. Punishment in itself is not the bad thing; it is the contradictions in the treatment that are. One may deplore the ruthless methods of the Boers in particular; the consistency, however, with which even the gentler Boer, in complete agreement with his own people, sticks to his severe principles towards the Hottentots, is the heart of that which must be admired, namely, the ability of the Boers to deal with the natives.

Such a uniformity in the treatment of the natives cannot be achieved by ordinances. It must be the spontaneous expression of a consistent appraisal of the native's character and of the situation. Those who know the Hottentot agree that two things are essential to get along well with him. In innumerable cases I have had the experience that a Hottentot expects punishment if he is convinced he deserves it. In his eyes it is a sign of weakness or stupidity if the punishment is remitted or given a sugar-coating. He may [338] thank you touchingly for your indulgent pardon and if he is a Christian wish you the reward of the "Lord Jesus" -- but he who can see behind the facade knows that the Hottentot is amused at this kind of treatment (cf. folk tale XLI); he wants to be treated firmly. The demands of justice should be emphasized in the interest of authority, even when it is not a matter of serious punishments. The harsh and blind scolding of a number of Hottentots by a high official, who could not even speak Dutch with them, was interrupted by a Hottentot (who thought that only his own people could understand him) with a warning to his companions: "!hgãa/ hã ǂaigye sã ǂguu." "he is crazy, therefore do not speak." Such situations can occur more often than is good for the strengthening of our prestige, even in the short time that the individual official is allowed to stay in the southwest (cf. the chronicle of the district bureau of Keetmanshoop).

Also the person who is not an official should be aware that his private dealings with the natives in the half-civilized land are not purely private matters. Each individual directly bears a part of the responsibility for the good or the bad relations of the two races. The result of these meetings, in which the individual bears direct responsibility is the sharpest test of the maturity of a people in dealing with other peoples. Here we show up clearly as novices. We fluctuate too much between undisciplined fraternization and bureaucratic overbearing. The middle way is not natural to us yet: the understanding of foreign peculiarities while quietly maintaining our own superiority. Our cousin on the other side of the Channel is more cosmopolitan.

In the meantime we must openly confess that the Hottentot knows us better than we do him. Even while aware of his own weakness he never loses interest in the study of the white intruder. Taught for generations and from boyhood up to operate with trickery he only lets the white man see the results of his observations of humans in the rarest cases. We have lost a great deal in not recognizing this situation. In the critical time after the outbreak of the Warmbad unrest, think what was said about war policy around the beer bench in front of the stores in the presence of Hottentot men! Relentlessly, when patriotism had reached its height after the sixth bottle, the refrain was "What can the fellows do?", after someone had hinted that unbidden listeners were there. And they miss nothing: they comment more thoroughly on such [336] idiotic and thoughtless speeches than on any of the governor's decrees. Whoever thinks he can demand every kind of service from the Hottentot for tobacco and bad gin, ought to have at least as much information about the families of this "trash" in these critical times so that he does not select the man to spy on the leader of a band from a related family.

But we will not give any further examples here. Even without them the conviction that underestimating the Hottentots in the small matters of daily life as well as in the most important was a basic error in our relations with the natives will make headway. We have had to pay for this mistake so dearly with blood that it is the duty of every witness to point it out that it may be avoided in the future.

He who measures the Hottentot as a fighter not exclusively according to the measure of the dragoons or the paragraphs of the Geneva Convention, cannot deny him recognition in more than one point. To be sure, one does not need the eyes of a general to recognize that it was not Hendrik Witbooi who was our chief opponent in the battle with the

Hottentots but his ally, the countryside, that shoved waterless deserts, 675
pathless mountains or interminable flatlands between us and the enemy. The enemy vanishes here with his entire outfit. His provisions come from the living cattle that the children drive and the women milk. In remote districts or rocky hollows that only the native herdsman and hunter know they find water and they sleep in open bush-kraals as they usually do when they go out with family and possessions for weeks and months seeking pastures. And so the Oorlog Hottentot feels himself to be in his own element no matter how badly things are going. We had the task to transplant all at once and efficiently our entire cultural superiority into a country where it would normally take decades for the culture to conquer. In order to mobilize all the resources of modern war here it meant that, long before we could attack the enemy, we had to do battle with nature, which even today places enormous demands on the individual.

The Hottentot is our superior in this battle, not only because he can 676
live on meat and roots, -- experience gives [337] him the edge. Our 677
army is like wild game to the Hottentot, which he hunts with assurance, as he has learned the tricks in former battles. Whereas our soldiers pay the cost of learning in blood again and again, he uses his old methods. He waits in ambush for the enemy at the water hole just as he did for the zebra at the Vlei. He fires at a passing detachment from the rocky hiding place as he did at a herd of migrating springbok. He stalks a weak patrol as an oryx antelope in the early dawn. He surrounds a supply train the way he surrounds hares when encircling them to throw the kirri at them.

And when he himself was surrounded, how did it happen that he always escaped again? During the entire war our troops tirelessly covered the battlefield in all directions with patrols, covered the entire country with a net of telegraphs and heliographs at enormous sacrifice and then overcame heretofore insuperable difficulties of time and space with wireless telegraphs. (78) That the Hottentot often surpassed us in passing 678
information in spite of all this, reminds us most uncomfortably of that which we easily forget from pride in our cultural level: the fact that simple practice of the naked senses of a primitive race plus primitive intellectual experience, sharpened only by everyday things, can be

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78. L. Schultze, Nachrichtenwesen während der Kämpfe in Deutsch-Südwestafrika ("Tägliche Rundschau," Jahrg. 1905, Nr. 511 u. 515).

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is "!gabiryaos //gaō-araaob, i.e. "the little boy (a-xab, boy; -ro, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gaū), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaē) at the rear (khao)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression "!hani!o/m. !o/m is a so-called "hukop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blond (!hani, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.] 726

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, "!gi/i, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, kaī //oā/s or "!oaī/ //ōā/s. 726 202

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves around it. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they appear. In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

1: Schultze--135A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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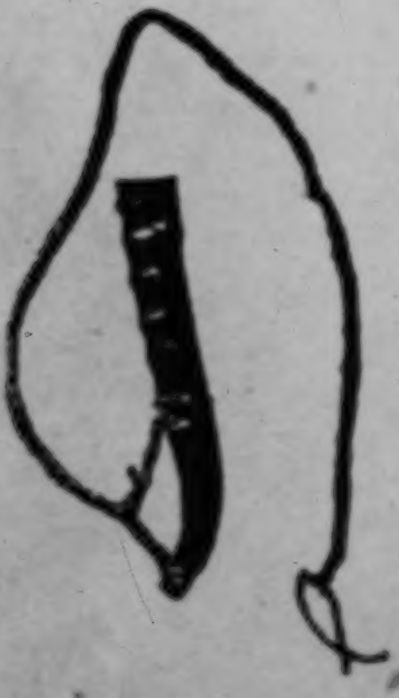

[p. 338]

Hottentots' war pipe.

year 1899, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series 726
of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across 202
the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack.

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called *go-bo go-bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture, Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go-bo go-bo a-maē , kxo-egu go ǂno-aē?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows. 726 787

A ring around the moon, *ao/gā/b, (the moon is as though thrown, ao, in, ǂgā/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga-barab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet 177

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77. W. H. I. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages. 2 Bände. London, 1862 and 1869.

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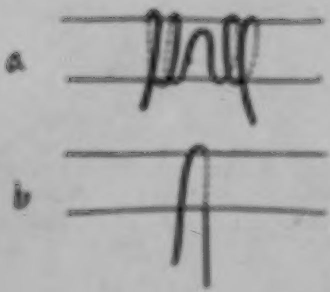

Figures a and b.

[p. 339]

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the *!Kora* dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witsen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form a linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Namaan or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural. 197

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during 114 the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially Kroenleins *Wortschatz* (97) gave me a first start and later a basis for testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who knew the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

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78. Th. Hahn, *Die Sprache der Nama*, Leipzig, 1870.

79. A. Seidel, *Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrika's*, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

97. J. G. Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, Berlin, 1889.

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure 124
Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening 126
and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conventional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the animals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large, South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising word-tone ([illegible]), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a falling word-tone ([illegible]). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple. After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native, reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the conviction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

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Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and unavoidable elementary stage. This has been the stumbling block for many who wished to learn Nama. Once you have learned to distinguish the four clicks by ear, then you [342] can make the job of reproducing them easier by having a native pronounce selected click words slowly and at the same time look as far down his throat as possible without influencing the tone by any interruptions. You will then see and hear that the shape, the placing and the withdrawing of the tongue determine the character of each click.

The click sounds of the Hottentots have been compared to the "inspirata" and the "exspirata" of the consonants (78), unjustly in my opinion. The question, whether inspiration or expiration is involved in the formation of the clicks can be tested by anyone pronouncing a click. You must hold your breath and try to click. The sounds come forth effortlessly, powerfully and typically. The same is true for all four sounds, no matter whether they are formed during inspiration or expiration. Breathing, in other words, plays no part here. Rather the formation of clicks is exclusively an effect of the energetic withdrawal of the tongue from the place where it begins the click. In the empty space that is thus formed the air rushes in creating the four different sounds without any physiological assistance. The air also finds its way through the oral cavity but this inrushing is not inspiration. The independence of the diaphragm and the lungs is in my opinion characteristic of making click sounds.

The use of click-like sounds in the language of other peoples than that of the Hottentot - Bushman group of South Africa has not yet been systematically investigated. The dental and cerebral click sounds seem to have been transferred with least modification into the language of several South African Bantu tribes. But their use in word formation is not supposed to correspond to that of the Hottentots. I myself had no opportunity to compare the click sounds of the Zulus, Basutos, etc., with those of the Hottentots.

2. The Musical Modifications of the Nama Sounds

The musical modifications of the Nama sounds are supposedly sufficiently differentiated by three signs. Kroenlein's signs are not precisely

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78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

defined by the author. Büttner says of them in the preface to "Wortschatz," probably basing his opinion on Th. Hahn or older authors, that they designate the middle, low and high tones." A comparison with the living language shows, however, that pure tonal levels are produced only in a number of cases. In most of the cases the signs are used rather for the designation of such relationships of sounds [344] that are combinations of very different musical elements. The usual three signs do not represent simple sound relationships in most cases but complex ones, reproduce them incompletely, since the sound elements are only partly considered, and the way they are combined not at all, and reproduce them ambiguously, because they reproduce similarly sounding words without consideration for the various sound components.

A. Seidel, who never heard the Nama language himself, in other words proceeds purely theoretically, differentiates the usual three tonal levels as "intonations", but does not see the various tonal levels as of a decisive nature in themselves, but the rising and falling of the tones as most important. This rising and falling of the tone has been now completely amalgamated with the tonal level in the most unfortunate way in that the start of the voice at the middle tonal level has been established as the point of departure. That is completely contradictory to the facts. The assumption that the voice always rises or falls from the middle tonal level when it changes its level is actually false and therefore the whole tonal system built on this assumption collapses.

Clarity cannot be won by abstractly adjusting and assimilating old concepts but only by a renewed study of the living language itself. Therefore, proceeding purely empirically, I wrote down all the phonetic elements that concerned the tonal level and its change, as soon as I heard them turning up repeatedly in a word. A special consideration of the accent later proved to be necessary and required a revision of the designations in that direction. The results of my observations, which were tested often over a period of time in every detail, are the following: the musical character of the sounds is determined in the Nama language not by three isolated modifications of sounds synchronized with a strong accent, but by eight sound modifications, which combine with each other as well as with the ninth factor, the accent, in many, many ways.

The circumstance, that Kroenlein's signs are already in use in two different definitions, of which one is too general, and the other of which contradicts the facts, has determined me not to adopt these signs in my orthography after several unsuccessful attempts to do so. They could only be used if they were redefined. Their use then would not correspond

[text continues on p. 198. -Analyst]

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Dental /	Flat and broad	The front end of the tongue is placed against the inner surface of the upper incisors and canines	The lateral edges of the tongue, while the front end starts clicking, are so placed against the inner surfaces, and partly against the chewing surfaces of the side teeth, that you cannot see into the oral cavity.	Far down, right behind the incisors.
Lateral //	Rounded like a bullet, so that the oral cavity is visible on both sides of the tongue, even when the tongue is placed to begin the click	Most of the back of the tongue rests against the palate	The tip of the tongue rests against the front palate, also partly against the inner surface of the upper incisors. The side edges of the tongue lie on the inner surface of the upper molars.	Perpendicularly down, but only so far that the back of the tongue remains considerably above the chewing surfaces of the lower molars.

continued

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks (Cont'd)

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Cerebral !	Hollow like a basin, and broad	The front end of the tongue lies at some distance from the incisors against the front and middle part of the palate	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces of the molars, just touching their chewing surfaces	Downwards and backwards
Palatal ǂ	Flat and broad	The tip of the tongue lies closely against the front palate right behind the incisors	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces and the chewing surfaces of the molars	Downwards and so far to the rear that the ligament of the tongue is visible between the front edge of the tongue and the incisors

so that in Krönlein's [345] "Wortschatz" and that would lead to misunderstandings. The following nine different musical modifications of the Nama sounds divide into three groups.* [illegible]

* The terminal technics, which I had created for naming the newly differentiated sound elements of the Nama language, were reviewed by Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig and improved when necessary in the interest of a unified nomenclature. (81) I also received

81. E. Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, 5. Aufl., 1901.

decisive assistance in the task of reproducing the phonetic elements in such a way that they did not over-burden the sentence and so that they did not pile up in a muddle when combined. I mention again in this place my heartfelt thanks to Professor Sievers.

a) The initial tone level. By this I mean the level at which the voice regularly starts when pronouncing certain words, compared with the initial level of the voice in other words.

Three kinds of initial tone level must be differentiated: the signs which I have chosen for them are included in parentheses.

α) The middle tone is characterized by the fact that the voice does not begin either lower nor higher than on the average. What is meant by the "average tone niveau" of a person and how it varies according to age, sex and individual peculiarities, do not need to be defined in number of vibrations. One becomes so attuned to the organ of one's Hottentot teacher that one immediately notices a deviation of the voice either up or down. The middle tone does not need a sign. It is assumed whenever there is not a sign (if the signs for the tonal level are otherwise completed). 184

β) The high tone (sign: / after the sound) is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher.

γ) the low tone (sign: √ after the sound) by the fact that the voice is lower than normal.

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If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a/m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a/m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[344] The musical modifications of the Nama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal levels, the following examples are presented:

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1.	/aha·	: red
	/a/ha·s	: the earth
	*/a/ha b	: the taste of blood in the mouth
2.	!ai/	: to test
	!ai/	: to jump
3.	!a/m	: green (as a verb: to shine around)
	!a/m	: to join to each other
	!a/m	: the glass bead
4.	/ai/	: to where
	/ai//	: to listen
	(ai?	: to sprinkle)
5.	/gu/m	: to be warm
	/gu/m	: two
6.	//gâ/	: to hang bead necklaces around the neck
	//gâ?	: to be thin
	(//gâ/	: to go off to war)

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* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

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7.	//ga/ro-s	the skin sack
	//gam-b	the hole that collects water in the rocks
8.	/gam-b	the obstruction
	*/ga/ra-b	the berry-like fruit of the Rhus lancea L.f. (Anacardiaceae)
9.	*!ga/be-b	name of a species of Rhigozum (Bignoniaceae).
	!ga?be-b	the water bag
10.	!gai?	to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
	!gai	to cross something on one's way
	!gai/	to make something even by lopping; to bump ankles when walking
11.	ǂgâ/	to prepare sugar beer, to implant
[367]	ǂgâ?	to be bald
12.	gam/	to hide oneself
	gam?	to become fat
13.	/gu/m	with bushy hair
	/gu?m	to suck blood
14.	/gam?	to give another nursing mother to a baby
	/gam//	to feel about in the dark
15.	//gae-	to beseech
	//gae-	to threaten
	(//ga-a	to become light)
16.	ǂgu/a-b	mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
	ǂgu?a-b	the bed skin
17.	ǂgu/ma-b	the dregs of a liquid
	*ǂgu?ma-b	the striped mouse (see p. 187, no. 38)
18.	ǂgu/	to push away with the fist
	ǂgu?	to bump into
19.	//gû/b	the father
	//gû?b	the springbok
	//gû/b	the tooth
20.	//hai-	to flee
	//hai-	to scrape hair from a skin
21.	!hai/b	the bone pipe
	!haib	to cut up a fruit

	12.	[illegible]	the strap
		*[illegible]	the hem on the flint tinder box
	13.	[illegible]	to be fat
		[illegible]	to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
	14.	[illegible]	to prevaricate
		[illegible]	to hold oneself in readiness
	15.	[illegible]	to uncover, lay bare
		*[illegible]	to blow out air, hiss (of the horned viper)
	16.	[illegible]	the rising up of the snake
		[illegible]	to do something for the first time
	17.	[illegible]	to strain
		*[illegible]	to hold back a bowel movement
	18.	[illegible]	to squint
		[illegible]	to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly
[[illegible]]	19.	[illegible]	to follow tracks
		[illegible]	honey bear
	20.	[illegible]	young
		[illegible]	to produce a dead calf
		[illegible]	to lay back the ears
	21.	[illegible] [illegible]	little [illegible]
	22.	[illegible]	to awaken
		[illegible]	to blink
	23.	[illegible]	the [illegible]
		[illegible]	hilly or mountain land, the Komas Highlands in the southern Herero territory
	24.	[illegible]	to bury
		[illegible]	to be coarse
	25.	[illegible]	to make an arc, to go around
		[illegible]	the clod
	26.	[illegible]	to [illegible]
		*[illegible]	to have the bladder too full
	27.	[illegible]	the smoking
		[illegible]	the kidneys

	38.	/nu/bo	=	to grow hair
		/nubu·	=	to scrape
	39.	!nuu·	=	to become gray
		!nu/u·	=	to run away (shy animals), to awaken
	40.	!nu·/as	=	slovenliness
		!nu·/as	=	the heel
		!nu/u·s	=	stumbling
	41.	ǂnuu·	=	to quarrel
		ǂnu/u·	=	to throw
	42.	õ·a	=	to seek
		õ/a	=	to increase
		õe·	=	to calf, to lamb, to have young
	43.	o·re	=	to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
		o·/re	=	of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
		(ore·	=	to make free)
[248]	44.	!o/m	=	to push
		!o/m	=	to be without horns (of cattle)
		!o/m	=	to become hard, to pull out a thorn
	45.	sao/s	=	thy mother
		saos	=	the pursuit
	46.	si/	=	to sneeze
		si/	=	to send
	47.	uru·	=	to stalk game
		ʼu/ru·	=	to jump on an unsaddled horse
	48.	tsabi·	=	the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
		tsa/bi·s	=	the black ebony tree

b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or dipthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

α) The even extension is characterised by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

2) The rising extension (sign: ʔ after the sound) is characterized by a rising. MY BM

3) The falling extension (sign: ↓ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples: MY (12 MY

1. á = to weep
á↓ = to drink
áʔ = yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /á = to wring out
/á↓ = to be sharp
3. ǂá = to be wet
ǂá↓ = to pilfer
4. a↓ms = the mouth
aʔms = the roast
a↓m = to the right
5. //gaʔo = to bake a cake in the pan
(300) //ga↓ʔo = to pull in one's head
(//ga↓ʔo = verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. *!ga↓m = to have gonorrhea
*!gaʔm = deep
(!ga↓m = to bow)
(!gaʔm = to kill)
7. /gâ = to collect cattle of the same color
*/gâ↓ = not wanting to give away his last bit
(gâʔ = to have twins)
8. ǂnâ↓↓ = to be sharp
ǂnâʔ = to set up a scarecrow for animals,
(ǂnâʔ = to turn aside)
9. //gâ↓b = the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
//gâʔb = compulsion
10. !gâ↓b = the long reed mat
!gâʔb = following a track

!gi/ = wearing an apron behind
!gi? = to let someone ride on your shoulders
11. //ha/m = chewing different foods at the same time
//ha?m = pouring in
12. ≠hā/b = the surface
≠hā?b = pushing in front of one or shoving
13. ≠hā/b = the seed
*≠hā?b = a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14. //hā/s = pouring out
//hā^s = the knapsack
15. !hā/ = to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
!hā? = to mock
16. !hu-/mi = the mountain
!hu-/mi = the seal (see page 41)
17. !hū/m = to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
!hū?m = to swallow something hot
(zhi) 18. khā/ = to blow something up
khā? = to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19. //nā/ = to leave
//nā? = to fall
(//nā = there)
20. "!nā/b = the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
!nā/b = the lower body
(!nā/b = a large kind of land turtle
21. *≠ha/m = flat and thin
≠nu/m = to whistle
22. !nō/b = the stone under the cooking pot
!nōb = peace (quiet)

23. /ó = to make a noise
/ôa = to stop giving milk
24. ai/b = the resting
sâ/b = the bucha powder
25. ai/m = to pull the bark off a tree
sâ/m = to take out honey
(sa/m = to intimidate a bird with a throw
= so that it ducks to the ground)
26. !ā/b = claw, hoof
!ap/b = forehead
(!ā/â/b = pinon)
27. ama/b = grease for joints
sâ/b = licking
28. !na/b = distance
!na/b = dust cloud
(!na/b = bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[302] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterized by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone. 194
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples: 192 194

1.	/gu/ri-b	(3, st.)	: name of a riverbank grass.
	/gu/ri-s	(1/2, st.)	: a ball.
2.	/gu/u-b	(3, st.)	: name of a succulent edible plant.
	*/gu/u-b	(1/2, st.)	: the call of the stirring /homs owl.
3.	!gu/ro-	(3, st.)	: to stay behind.
	!gu/ro-	(1/2, st.)	: to roar.
4.	!gu/ru-b	(3, st.)	: poison.
	!gu/ru-b	(1/2, st.)	: thunder.
5.	/ha/ ae-	(3, st.)	: to be slow.
	/ha/ ae-	(1/2, st.)	: to smell of urine.
6.	!ha/ re-	(3, st.)	: to look on.
	!ha/ re-	(1/2, st.)	: to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha/ ra-b	(3, st.)	: the wart.
	/ha/ ra-b	(1/2, st.)	: the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru-s	(3, st.)	: name of Cyperus species.
(202)	*/haru-s	(1/2, st.)	: Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha/ o-b	(3, st.)	: goat beard.
	/ha/ o-b	(1/2, st.)	: visible breath.
10.	/ha/ bo-	(3, st.)	: to paint the face.
	*/ha/ bo-	(1/2, st.)	: to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na/ri-	(3, st.)	: to be thickened.
	na/ri-	(1/2, st.)	: this morning.
12.	!na/ be-b	(3, st.)	: the mend.
	!na/ be-b	(1/2, st.)	: rhinoceros.
13.	!nu/ ra-b	(3, st.)	: tobacco roll.
	!nu/ ra-s	(1/2, st.)	: the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language. 194 [194]

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out. 144

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

α) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ꜜ, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ꜛ. 144 134

1. dāꜜ : to burst open H 2
   dāꜛ : to slaughter 144
2. /aꜛn : to groan
   /aꜜn : to smoke (of the fire)
3. //aꜛꜛm : to clean oneself with cow dung
[364] //aꜛm : placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
   //aꜜm : to eliminate
   *//aꜜm : to cover in order to hide
4. //aꜛn : to dwell
   //aꜜn : to ripen
   //aꜛn : to hold firmly together
5. daꜜn : to know
   daꜛn : to give a blow
6. dãꜛ : to jubilate, make merry
   dãꜜ : to be someone's enemy
7. gâꜜ : to be lost
   gâꜛ : to be clever, to outwit someone
8. !gâꜛ : to burst
   !gâb : the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

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	!gā/b	e	poison
	!gā/b	e	the servant
	*!gā/b	e	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 280
9.	!ga-ʔ mi	s	chin
	!ga·mi	e	way (road)
	(!ga/mi	e	to pass)
10.	ǂga/	e	to go in
	*ǂga/	e	to be steep
11.	χa/m	s	to wipe the dust off
	*χa/m	s	to draw a noose tight
12.	ǂga/m	e	to mend something broken
	ǂga/m	e	to jump about
13.	ǂga/o	e	to cover
	ǂga/o	e	to ask
14.	/gai/	e	to be greedy
	/gai/	z	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gā/	e	to strangle
	//gā/	e	to eliminate, secrete
16.	gā/	e	to refuse
	gā/	z	to see
17.	!ga/m	e	to be pregnant
(288)	!ga/m	e	the humming of the ostrich
18.	ǂga/m	e	to dip in
	ǂga/m	e	to believe
19.	/gā/	e	near
	/gā/	e	dirty
20.	!ga/m	z	to bend
	!ga/m	e	to kill
	*!ga/m	z	deep
21.	!gau/	z	to be left over
	!gau/	e	to throw towards
22.	!hā/b	z	to winnow out
	!hā/b	:	lynx (see page 281)
	!hā/b	:	canine tooth of the horse

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23.	ǂhaĩ'	=	to smear oneself with something sweet
	*ǂhaĩ'	=	to crush the tsama fruit (see p. 200)
24.	/hā'b	=	the scorpion
	/hāǂb	=	anxiety, choking
25.	/hãǂb	=	the white man
	/hã'b	=	the smell of the billy goat
26.	//hāǂ	=	to bore through
	//hā'	=	to bark
27.	!hũǂ	=	to flee
	!hũ'b	=	the country
28.	!hũ'	=	to tie, combine
	!hu'	=	to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
	*!hũǂ	=	to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)
29.	/kxaǂm	=	to urinate
	/kxaǂm	=	to trickle through
	*/kxaǂm	=	the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)
30.	kxoǂm	=	to pound fine
	kxoǂm	=	to speak
31.	//kxoǂm	=	to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
	//kxoǂm	=	to bind up a body
32.	/kxũ'	=	to tremble
	/kxũǂ	=	to pull out
33.	ǂhũ'	=	to pour
(306)	ǂhũǂ	=	to be dry
34.	ǂhaǂn	=	to strike fire
	ǂhaǂn	=	to turn around
35.	!naǂm	=	humpbacked
	!naǂm	=	to smoke out bees (see p. 205)
36.	ǂhauǂ	=	to strike
	ǂhauǂ	=	to help

[142] 37. /na/m = to breathe
[141] /na/m = to wipe off
38. ab/ = to warm oneself
ab/ = to pick one's nose
39. ai = to come there
ai// = ? (phrase)

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, m.) = to skin (cf. p. 207 note)
/a/bi· (3, m.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing
2. ɣam· (1/2, m.) = to release
ɣa/m· (3, m.) = to joke
3. /ga/ri·b (3, m.) = name of a lizard, the *Mabuia acutilabris Pet.*
/ga/ri·b (1/2, m.) = dancing
4. gu/ni· (3, m.) = to stalk game
gu/ni· (1/2, m.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear
5. //garu·s (1/2, m.) = quern stone
*//ga/ru·b (3, m.) = mountain ridge
6. !ha/mi· (3, m.) = to hunt
!ha/mi· (1/2, m.) = to be inclined
7. !huri·b (3, m.) = fear
!hu/ri·b (1/2, m.) = the backbone
8. //nam· (1/2, m.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//na/ru· (3, m.) = to impale in rows
9. !na/ru·s (1/2, m.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
*!na/ru·s (3, m.) = name of a ray (fish)
10. u·/ri (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[207] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.
[o] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

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2.	/a·ob	blood
	/ao·b	snake
3.	//a·m	to return home
	//am·	dotted black and white
4.	ǂkha·	to burn
	ǂa·ba	to cut open
5.	ǂkhâi·	to sweep dirt
	ǂa·bi	to be bored
6.	ǂa·bo	to plaster
	ǂabo·	to seize someone by surprise
7.	gu·a	to be half dry
	gua·	to praise
8.	!gua·	to crack a whip
	*!gu·a	to lie deep
9.	gu·ri	to gnaw bones
	guri·b	the year
10.	*//gaba·	to see sharply and far off
	*//ga·ba	to step on something by mistake
11.	//ha·ob	the wind break of the fire place
	//hao·b	the rising of a thunderstorm
12.	!hari·	to undo stitches
	!ha·ri	to live in the neighborhood
13.	/khā·rab	the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
	/khara·b	the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)
14.	/khā·rus	name of a kind of hare (see p. 288)
	*/kharu·s	name of a kind of *Euphorbia*, *E. cervicornis Boiss* (see Plate VI)
15.	/khā·bu	to spit water out of one's mouth
	/khabu·s	sandal
16.	//khā·eb	driving back
	//khaē·b	sand of the river bed

[268] 17. //kχara- = to punish
112 //kχa·ra = to be big
191 18. !kχa-oab (3, f.) = name of a kind of hare (see p. 282)
!kχadra- (e, m.) = carrion
19. !kχa-ra = to snore
!kχaru- = to shoot through
20. //kχaro-b (3, m.) = the shovel for ashes
*//kχo-rob (1/2, f.) = the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 284)
21. /kχaro-b = aridity, acidity
/kχo-rob = grass seed
22. *≠kχaro-b = the hot earth around the fire place
≠kχo-rob = vein
23. !na√mi- (3, m.) = to carry a child on one's arm
!na-√mi (1/2, f.) = the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ≠na√o-b (3, m.) = honeycomb
*≠na-√ob (1/2, f.) = a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !oro- = to stand on tiptoe
!o-ro = to bellow
26. saru- = to catch a sheep or goat by the leg
sa-ru (3, f.) = to pursue.
27. so-res = the sun
sore-s = the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara-s = the woman
*tã-ras (3, f.) = the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to-rob = war
toro-b = a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

§)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/3 tone): 144 [109]

H2
144

1. /a·rab (3, f.) = the annoyance
/ara·b = rib
/a·ʔrab = the crack
2. //a·ri = yesterday, tomorrow
(389) //aʔri· = to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oʔʔu)
3. !a·ba = to climb up
!a√ba· (3, m.) = to scratch
4. χoa· = to scrape
χo·ʔa = to write
5. χuru·b = powdered coals
χu√ru· (3, m.) = to pull out
6. χu·bu = to pulverize tobacco
χu√bu· (3, m.) = to drink from [sip]
7. gara· = to be cool
ga·√ra = to have German measles
8. ga√ro· (3, m.) = bend, bow
ga·ro = to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9. /ga·bi = to sprinkle
/ga√bi·s (3, m.) = the cup
(/gabi· = to be high)
10. //ga·√e = to imitate
//gae· = to chew
11. //ga·mi = water
//ga√mi· (3, m.) = to bend the head
12. //ga·nas = the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
//gaʔna·s = name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the *root* is eaten raw.

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192 194		//ga·ʔna		=	to water the cattle singly or in herds
	13.	//gara·s		=	the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)
		//ga✓ra·s	(3, st.)	=	shoulder blade
		//ga·ra		=	to scratch lines
	14.	!ga·os		=	cutting
		!ga✓o·s	(3, st.)	=	the tree trunk
	15.	!ga✓ra·b		=	thinness
		!ga·rab		=	the male genitals
	16.	!ga·ro		=	to be barren
		*!ga✓ro.		=	the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young
	17.	/ga·mi		=	to have two wives (cf. p. 307)
[360]		/gaʔmi·		=	to close one eye
	18.	/go·e		=	to curse
		/go✓e·		=	to splint a broken arm
	19.	/go✓re·b		=	the request
		/go·reb		=	a cut in the skin for bleeding
	20.	guʔnu		=	to make a place for oneself by shoving
		gu✓nu	(3, st.)	=	to spoil, rot
	21.	/gu·i		=	one
		/gu✓i·	(3, st.)	=	to become tired of somebody
	22.	//ga·ma	(3, f.)	=	to fetch water
		*//ga✓ma·		=	to lie close to the fire
	23.	go✓ra·b	(3, st.)	=	name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.
		*go·ra		=	to peel skins from field onions
	24.	!gu✓i·	(3, st.)	=	to creep around something
		!gu·i		=	pulsating of a wound
	25.	!gu·ri		=	to rub someone with fat
		!guʔri·		=	to be arrogant
	26.	!gu✓bu·	(3, st.)	=	to knock
		!gu·bu		=	to be round

192 27. ≠gu·i = to be much
194 ≠gu♩i·s (3, st.) = the nose
28. ha♩ra· = to be far
ha· ra = to swallow
29. /ha♩mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly
/ha·mi = to make oneself ready
30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion
//ha♩ru· (3, st.) = to creep into
31. !ha·e = to be quick
!ha♩e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)
32. !ho·a = to tell a story
!ho♩a· = to be crooked
33. !ho♩ba·b = turning around
!ho·bab = intestinal worm
34. /hu♩ru· (3, st.) = cooking thin meat until dry
/hu·ru = to play
35. !hu♩i·b (3, st.) = the bustard (see p. 272)
!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia
36. !hu·nu = to become wet
[361] !hu♩nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)
37. ≠kχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)
≠kχa♩ra·b = testicles
38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt
*!kχo♩a·b = ice
39. ≠kχo·a = to soothe
≠kχo♩a·b = the elephant
40. ≠kχu·bi = to make noise
≠kχu♩bi· = to babble (of small children)
41. na·ρmi = the tongue
naρmi· = to flicker
na♩mi· = to bend around a corner
na♩mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert
42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]
na♩ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

192 43. /naʖe· = to put straight
194 /na·eb = the navel
44. //na·e = to indicate
//naʖe· = to sing
45. //nā̃ʖi· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nā̃·ʖi = to be stiff
//nā̃· i = all right
46. !naʖe· = to trot
!naē· = to become warm
!na·ʔe = to be born
47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!naʖra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"
48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/noʖro· (3, st.) = to be pale
49. /oʖro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old
50. //o·ʔa = not to be able to
//oʖa· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)
51. !o·a = to meet
!oʖa = to be sad
[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
sa·ʖmi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing
53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow
54. so·as = barrel
soʖa·s = fissure, scratch
55. to·a = to cease
toʖa· (3, st.) = to tear apart
56. /uʖi·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone
57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

192 !u·i = to become evening

194 58. !u♪bu·b = egg

*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away

59. !ū·i = to guard

*!õ♩i· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless

60. tsa♩o· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest

tsa·ob = ash

61. tsa♩ma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)

tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"

62. tso·as = looking for lice

tso♩a·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.

//ga·♪ni (1/2, f.) = meat

//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõ♩a·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·♩ab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõ♪s, the sack, /na·ma//hõ♩s, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /na♩m, to love, but /na♪m/na♩m, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

3. Orthography

The spelling which I use for Nama words in this report is closely patterned after the general linguistic alphabet, which Steinthal (80) uses. I 104 194

80. H. Steinthal, Linguistik, in G. Neumayer's "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen," 1891.

can therefore restrict myself here to a few remarks to orient the reader and as an explanation for several deviations from Kroenlein's method.

ā indicates the length of a vowel. If the long sign is missing, the vowel is short.

ã indicates nasalization. Individual tendency towards nasalization of vowels, which follow an m (toma, "not," go ma·b, "ox," ma, "to give," etc.) I have observed frequently but I have not considered this in the script.

(a) indicates that the vowel involved is spoken hastily, almost supressed.

y is pronounced as the "j" in the German word Jena.

a/o and analogously all vowels that are separated by a sound sign, are not to be spoken as a dipthong but separately.

aë, aï, and oë etc. are to be spoken with the vowels separated with the accent on the first if no accent sign is given.

ai is to be pronounced as in the German "Kaiser," "Eile," "einerlei," etc. The dipthong ei (as pronounced in the linguistic alphabet) does not exist in the Hottentot language. The linguistic method of writing should definitely be preferred. Where Kroenlein writes ai, in many cases this could be confused with aë.

au is to be pronounced as in the German "Auge," "[illegible]uch," etc. The linguistic dipthong ou does not exist in the Hottentot language [364] any more than it does in pure German. Where Kroenlein writes au, there is often a confusion with ao which is very close to it.

ao is to be pronounced with the emphasis on the first vowel and with such a quick transition to the second, that it sounds like a dipthong.

b at the beginning of a word is pronounced like our b, in the middle of a word usually softly like our w, and at the end of a word hard but not quite so hard as our p.

χ is pronounced as in the German "lachen," "Bach" etc.

kχ corresponds to Kroenlein's kh, that should be "somewhat harder, but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc, often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vuilziekte of the Boers (lues).

[364] B. Knowledge of Nature

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What we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

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Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

821
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From childhood on the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way on his own out on the range. As a child he orients himself by means of close, familiar things like groups of bushes, trees, and rock formations. Later, when he undertakes longer migrations with his family in search of pasturage, he is compelled by the lack of rain in the land to help himself along from one water hole to the next. His migrations thus are composed of treks, of which each one has as its daily goal a relatively nearby spot that is determined by local conditions. Therefore the herder does not need to seek for his journey any points of orientation in the sky except the sun.

a) The starry sky therefore is little known to the Hottentot. It is an open question whether it was always this way or whether also in this field traditions have paled with the general decline of folk character.

α) The sun, so·res, gives the Hottentot, too, his points of orientation for distinguishing the points of the compass: the east is called °soresta//hai·♩//kχāb, that is, "the side on which the sun rises." The west is °soresta≠gā·♩//kχāb, "the side on which the sun sets."

I learned a common designation for north and south: °soresχō·!nab; for if one looks in one of these directions, the sun shines upon (!na) one's cheek (χōb). I learned the words !kχa·-bagab and /aba·s only as designanations for the winds from the south and the north; in other parts (57) of the country they may serve also for the designation of the abstract directions. But I consider this to be a later extension of the terms. Close contact with the Hottentots demonstrates how remote they are from all abstract concepts if the senses alone suffice. The sun itself, its rising and setting, the wind which blows from here or from there, the place to which they previously wandered--these are the elements of their geographical knowledge, and they suffice for mutual comprehension.

[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

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57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

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β) Among the stars, /gaʔmiroti, they are acquainted primarily with the two planets whose propinquity to the sun and regularly varying position in the morning and evening sky makes their observation quite obvious: Mercury and Venus.

The traveler in Namaland who spends the night under the open sky and to whose eyes Mercury is not dimmed by a long twilight as in our latitudes or from whom Mercury is not concealed by the morning fog -- this traveler knows the two precursors of the rising sun and their relation to each other. The following table, which Professor Otto Knopf in Jena kindly set up for me, may serve to orient people less familiar with local conditions. The most striking phenomena which have given rise to the native names for these planets, are indicated by an asterisk:

Venus, called //kχa·nus, rises 1 1/2 to 3 hours before the sun; it moves (!gũng) ahead (ai) of the sun and is therefore also called *ai!gũns, the "precursor," the "voorlooper" of the Boers, our morning star. Another designation of Venus is *aogura//hã·b, that is, the star at whose rising the men (aogu) run off (//hã, -ra particle of progressive action), that is, seek out their own bed so that day will not surprise them in an improper bed of love. This is expressed even more clearly by the synonymous designation ≠hū·ʔaogu/gaʔmirob (≠hūʔ signifies extramarital intercourse).

Venus, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, is followed by Mercury; Mercury is closest to daybreak (//go·as) and is therefore called "daybreak star", //go·a/ga·ʔmiros, the "dagbreker" of the Boers. Another name for Mercury is *//go·a//kχaũ·ris; this indicates that this planet comes early in the morning when the udders of the cattle (which are milked in the morning and in the evening) are full again.

The Hottentot, who looks at the eastern sky late in the night so as to break camp before day, pays primary attention to Venus. It is easy for him to overlook little Mercury, which changes its position more frequently with respect to the sun and is therefore often not where expected. This is especially true when Mercury, contrary to the rule, rises before Venus. And he overlooks Mercury all the more carelessly the later Venus itself appears because then it becomes less necessary to wait for the straggler (since they still believe that Mercury follows Venus) and less possible to determine its appearance in the breaking dawn. One must take these conditions into consideration in order to excuse the natives in their contradictions which can be easily figured out by astronomy and the lack of clarity among the whites about these questions.

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821 Number of Hours and Minutes which at 25° Southern Latitude

Mercury		Venus		
Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Date
—	$0^h\ 53^m$	—	$0^h\ 35^m$	1. I. 1903
—	—	—	0 56	1. II.
$2^h\ 3^m$	—	—	1 9	1. III.
0 51	—	—	1 29	1. IV.
—	0 57	—	2 6	1. V.
—	0 19	—	2 57	1. VI.
1 40	—	—	3 27	1. VII.
—	0 29	—	3 11	1. VIII.
—	1 56	—	1 44	1. IX.
—	0 21	$1^h\ 22^m$	—	1. X.
*0 34	—	*2 14	—	1. XI.
—	0 27	2 33	—	1. XII.
—	1 20	2 53	—	1. I. 1904
*1 44	—	*2 53	—	1. II.
*1 30	—	*2 28	—	1. III.
—	0 18	1 54	—	1. IV.
—	0 46	1 23	—	1. V.
1 43	—	0 47	—	1. VI.
0 43	—	0 7	—	1. VII.
—	1 37	—	0 30	1. VIII.
—	1 41	—	1 7	1. IX.
0 49	—	—	1 43	1. X.
—	0 3	—	2 21	1. XI.
—	1 20	—	2 46	1. XII.
0 4	—	—	2 42	1. I. 1[illegible]
1 45	—	—	2 23	1. II.
0 33	—	—	2 5	1. III.
—	0 49	—	1 22	1. IV.
0 54	—	0 28	—	1. V.
*1 45	—	*1 58	—	1. VI.
—	0 36	2 29	—	1. VII.
—	2 3	3 2	—	1. VIII.
*0 25	—	*2 12	—	1. IX.
*0 19	—	*1 33	—	1. X.
—	0 58	1 33	—	1. XI.
—	1 38	1 3	—	1. XII.

The Hottentots do not observe that Mercury also appears as an evening star since this planet is of significance to them only as a harbinger of day.

Venus, however, is not to be overlooked even in the evening (!u·ib); it is recognized by the Hottentots as being identical with the morning star. Because it never tarries long in the sky as the evening star but, as it were, hastens away (!kχo·e), it has received the name *!u·i!kχo·eb, that is, "the fleet one of the evening."

Jupiter is likewise known to the Hottentots. They occasionally identify it with Venus since they say that this star, in the course [368] of the weeks, wanders through the skies like the moon. But regardless of how the relations of the two planets to each other may be interpreted by the individual, in every case the Hottentot sees Jupiter, in contrast to Venus, "in the middle" (//a egub) of the sky and of the night as well as in the east and in the west. In accordance with this conception he calls Jupiter the "middle star," *//a egu/gaʔmirob.

Orion is the most striking constellation in the fixed star heavens of the Southern Hemisphere as well as the Northern. Of these stars the Hottentot, ignoring those of first magnitude, includes only the six which correspond to the belt and the sword according to our fantasy. He calls this group !go·regu, that is, the zebras: the stars δ, ε and ζ represent to his eyes three zebras in flight, at the middle one of which the hunter, ι, shoots his arrow, ϑ and c.

I heard the Pleiades, because of their closely clustered stars, called */hũ/seti (/hũ/ - "to assemble"). More widespread is another name which shows more than mere dialect difference from the first: /kχũʔseti. The Pleiades become visible in the middle of June for an observer at the 25th degree Southern Latitude, thus in the first half of the cold season. I heard a native of the upper Auob territory call the Pleiades *≠ao·/gʔamiroti, that is, "frost stars," because at the time when they become visible the nights can already be so cold that there is frost early in the morning. For the Bushmen of the above-mentioned district the appearance of the Pleiades is supposed to be the sign for setting out into the tsam a fields.

The glitter of the Milky Way and the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentots of the weak glow of the ashes dying away in their hearth or campfires. Hence, they call the Milk Way *tsaob, that is, "the ash" (with a masculine ending corresponding to its long slender shape); the two luminous clouds on the other hand are called *tsaora (with a feminine ending in the dual corresponding to their lumpy form and small size). The Magellanic Clouds are also called "the two testicles of the lion," χam≠kχ· a≠rakχa.

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Of the individual fixed stars I heard only Sirius mentioned by Hottentots: it was called *!na·/m/ga/mirob, and sometimes also *!na/m!na/ms, that is, "side star." I could not determine the significance of this word with any certainty, and only a supposition can perhaps be justified: "The Hottentot, as we have seen earlier (p. 61), calls the east wind ai·≠o·ab, because it comes from "in front." Hence, if the east, as the point where the sun rises, is the front of the world for him, then north and [369] south would be the sides. From this conception it would be comprehensible that Sirius, the brightest star of the Northern sky of the Southern Hemisphere, is regarded as the "side star." Its partner in the southern skies would be Canopus.

b) The time division of the Hottentots is based upon the change of the seasons, of the phases of the moon, and of the daily position of the sun. 805

α) They have, to be sure, the concept "year," guri·b, which refers to the period encompassing the seasonal changes, but they do not calculate according to years in our sense. I got the impression that they recall the age of their cattle according to calf and lamb periods. Their own age is of no interest to them, and if they perchance want to date something further back, then they use well-known local events (the outbreak of cattle plague, hostilities with neighboring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc.) as sufficiently general points of reference, from which they can then date a specific moment by figuring in the birth or size of the children in the family at that time.

β) The change of the seasons, ga·magu, determines the division of the whole year. They distinguish the following seasons:

1. An early spring. When with increasing warmth (!o·ba, vb.; also said of the early sun that warms the eastern sides of the rocks and bushes after a cold night) and independent of the rainfall the trees and bushes begin budding and, in good years, wintery early rains or early spring rains (cf. Climate, p. 154 ff.) revitalize the meadows, the blossoming time, *!kχā///aeb, or spring, !aba b, has come. It begins as early as August and ends in October.

2. The season that the Hottentot calls //kχū·nab (in the Bergdamara dialect *soreb, that is, "the sun time") comprises the first half of a hot period, during which the so-called "little" rainy season occurs if the year is good. If these rains do not come or if they are sparse, as is usually the case, then the land remains extensively barren, without growth of grass and plants. This period of drouth, like the drouth itself, is called /kχuru·b. The //kχū·nab of the Hottentots extends from October through

December and thus corresponds astronomically to the spring of the Southern Hemisphere.

3. The season upon whose abundance the welfare of the Hottentots primarily depends is called //ha/o· b (3, st.); we can call it the grazing season (since the word is also used in the same concrete sense as tūb, "pasture"). It comprises the so-called "big" [370] rainy period of the year and the time immediately following, during which the fodder plants retain their greenness. It falls, generously estimating, between the months of January and April, hence into the southern summer and the beginning of fall.

4. The winter of the Hottentots, sao· b, comprises the cold season from May to August and therefore includes the last two-thirds of the fall and the first half of winter by astronomical calculation.

γ) A more detailed organization of the year is based upon the observation of the phases of the moon. When, after the new moon, the crescent again appears (ǂkχani· , vb.) in the western sky, they consider the month //kχã̄b begun. For the Hottentot the phases of the [821]
moon are symbols of his own development and passing away (cf. Folk tale XXX): the crescent which is just appearing and still scarcely recognizable is called *ǂkχa/m//kχã̄b, ǂkχa/m with the meaning "unripe." The word is also used to designate a fruit which is prematurely born.

The narrow glittering crescent in which the moon, as it were, comes alive (that is the original meaning of !gā), is called *!gā· go//kχã̄b.

The first two quarters have two names that are common to both of them. The first is *gai· //kχã̄gai· ra//kχã̄b, "the moon that becomes big or old (gai)." The other name is *gā/ai· ra//kχã̄b, "the moon that becomes clever (gā/ai)."

Thus, they cause the moon to increase in age and wisdom until it ripens into the full moon, *gai//kχã̄b.

In the last quarters only the narrow crescent is characterized as *//ōra//kχã̄b, "the dying (//ō, -ra, participle of progressive action) moon."

Proportionately as our twelve months and the dates of the Christian festivals gain prominence, the Hottentots gradually forget the time reckoning of their ancestors. It is definitely established that they gave names to the individual lunations of the year in close connection to the change of the seasons. In Kroenlein's "Wortschatz" (57) Hottentot

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

designations can be found for nine of our months. I did not include the name for September because it is a word belonging to the Bergdamara dialect. Kroenlein's Hottentot February corresponds to the January of my calculations. Our calculations show considerable deviation only in the interpretation of the name for July, which I must requisition for October.

Of the four names of months that are new here, I have used the one listed under VII, because of its clear astronomical reference, as the reliable point of departure for a comparison of the Hottentot months with ours. [371] The Hottentot months, which were surely based upon naive observation of the moon phases and hence the time of a synodical month (29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes), can naturally be equated only approximately with the months of our calendar. The etymology of the names, which contain references to the meteorological character of the season, yields a valuable checking system as to whether or not the attempt to make such an equation is justified in the given case.

The placing of the months that have no such etymological reference to their position in the year was based solely upon native tradition: that is, in this case upon the information of an old woman whom I found to be reliable. After many unsuccessful attempts to cull any useful information from the unclear calendar conception of the natives of my acquaintance, I finally succeeded unexpectedly in finding the forgotten month names in the vivid memory of a 60 to 70 year old Hottentot woman. Without any hesitation or faltering she repeated twelve names to me in a constantly consistent sequence. When asked where she got this knowledge, she referred to her childhood. The possibility cannot be excluded that this duodecimal system of the months and their order had already been influenced by notions of the whites. Therefore, it has perhaps already become too late to penetrate here into the original ideas of the people. Then the following scheme may at least be preserved as the last attainable remnant of that which has been lost. -- The twelve months of the Hottentots and the parallel months of our calendar are thus the following:

I. ≠kχo·esao//kχãb (or ≠kχo·esaos): "the moon that follows the ≠kχo·e-bush." This important grazing bush, a variety of *Salsola* (see p. 80), is supposed to have its main blossoming in the spring. Therefore, the first month of the southern summer follows (*sao*) it . . . . January

II. *ga♩ma· /aēb* . . . . February

III. *!kχai tsã♩b*: "when it begins (*tsã♩* = *tsop♩*, intransitive vb.) to get cold (*!kχai*)." The name designates a lunation in the transitional period from summer to fall. According to the accepted order it would correspond to our . . . . March

IV. *≠goro /nū·♪seb*: Older Hottentots, consistently and independently of one another, assured me that this referred to the [372] month of increasing cold when one sits so close to the fire that one's legs (*/nū♪–*) get blisters (*≠go. ro*) . . . . . April

V. *≠nū.♩ //kχãsa*, "the black month." In the southern winter, the drouth period, the black branches of the bushes that have shed their foliage give the landscape its characteristic aspect (57) . . May

57. *Ibid.*

VI. */hai· //kχãsa* . . . . June

VII. **/kχũ·♪//kχãsa*, that is, "the month of the Pleiades." For an observer at 25° Southern Latitude the Pleiades become visible in the second half of June. As it was mentioned earlier (see p. 368), the appearance of the Pleiades is of significance for the wanderings of the natives who are seeking *tsam:a*. Hence, it is understandable that they name the lunation from the month of June to July after this constellation . . . . July

VIII. *hõa♩ri·b* . . . . .August

IX. *!ho♩a·≠ga·eb*, the month "when the leaves (*≠ga·e–*) are crooked (crinkled by winter) (*!ho♩a·*)." (57). . . . . .September

57. *Ibid.*

X. *ga♭ kχa·ni* . . . . October

XI. **/gõ·a!kχa ni* . . . . .November

XII. */hō.♩≠ga·eb*. When the fresh, young verdure

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (*ǂga·eb*, "leaves") seems to be checked (*/hō√*, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called *bē·kgye hais*, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch *week*).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsū·χub*. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. *//a·ri* means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, *tsē!gā/b*, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. **//go·a!a·roam* is the dawn.
2. **!u·itsū·χubab* is the dusk.
3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called **!kχai·//go·agab* since this period of daybreak (*//go:ab*) is usually the most bitingly cold (*!kχai*).
4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called **/a ba/ho·beb*, that is "the red twilight."

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," *≠kχa·ʔm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The */u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight *tsũ·χub!gã·ʔb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

53

We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kχãʔb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

1: Schultze--174A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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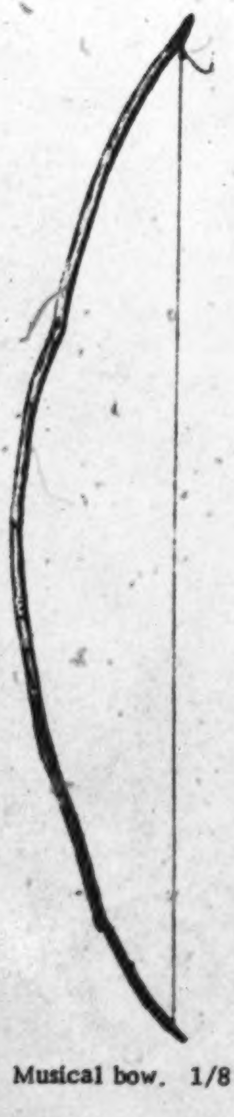

Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.

[p. 374]

and the lower end is propped against a skin-covered bowl that serves 533
as a sounding board. It is held in place with the right foot which is 534
inserted between the bow and the string. The player uses her right hand to strike the string with a wooden stick -- if the women sitting beside her do not do this -- and with her left hand she plucks like a violin player. They also use their chins in plucking, in that they rest their heads, halfway back, for a moment against the upper end of the string. Generally several of the women sitting around beat in time upon the string with wooden sticks.

I myself saw no other string instrument beside the bow among the Hottentots. I encountered the gora with the quill (66) only among the Bechuans. To be sure, Hottentots spoke of a guitar-like instrument that they make in imitation of European models; they call it ramgyib or !gũ·ǀtsib (from !gũ· = "to cover," and in this case: to span the sounding board with a skin. See also the footnote to Folk tale XLV.). [Plate XV. A Topnaar Hottentot.]

[375] The main characteristic of the action which is supposed to 533
be depicted in the musical pantomime lies musically in the rhythm. 535
In hunting scenes it expresses the various gaits of the horse and the wild animals: the tracking of the hartebeest, the first chase at a gallop, the flight of the shot animal and its defeat -- all of this is reproduced by the rhythm of the wooden sticks. The spurring of the hunting horse, the death blow and the death rattle of the dying animal is expressed with gestures and inarticulated sounds. The monotonous intervals that are plucked on the string are only accompaniment.

Similarly portrayed are the rolling of a wagon, the yoking of the oxen, the unhitching of a lame or feeble animal, the snapping of the whip, and so forth.

They are very fond of imitating the practices of wild animals. I saw a woman imitate a baboon with great animation and devotion to her rôle: how it picks up insects from the ground, how it bends over the waterhole to drink, jealously wards off the thirsty animals pressing after him, how it casually trots, how it becomes frightened upon scenting danger and flees when surprised.

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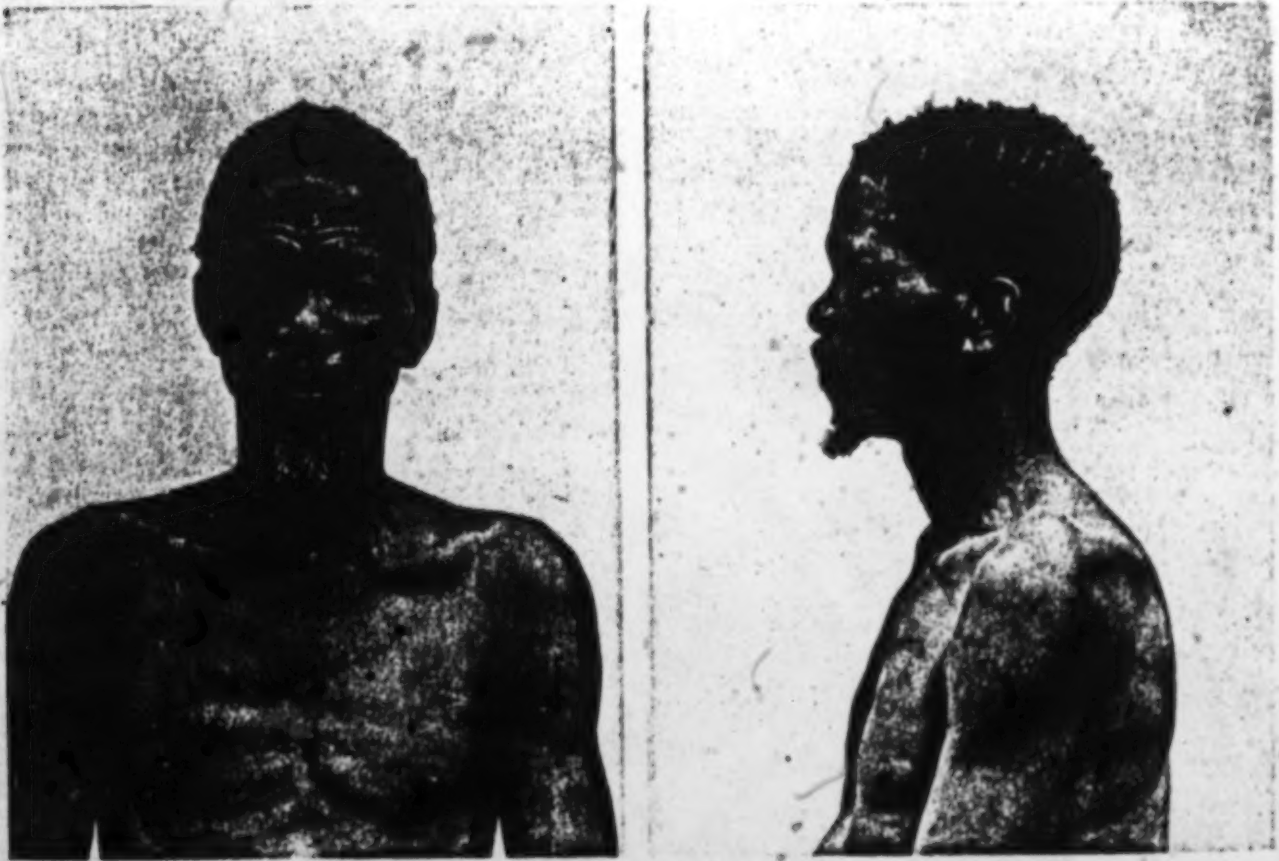
66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

[Between 374-375]



A Topnaar Hottentot.

In all these entertainments the music remains in the background 533
even though the strings and wooden sticks are constantly in action. 535

2. The Reed-dance Song

The tones become melodies only in the song of the reed dance. 533
Here the ancient musical instruments of the Hottentots, the reed 534
pipes, ≠ā·ti, come into their own. [Fig. Reed Pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.] The pipes, as their name indicates, are generally cut from reeds; but in dry stretches where there is no reed growth they are made from the roots of Acacia horrida Willd. . The root segment that is cut in the shape of a rod is either debarked completely by tearing off the bark (a), or it is slit lengthwise and the bark is peeled from the wood. The root that has been slit lengthwise is then firmly wrapped with a piece of bark in a spiral as though with a band (c). The pipe produced in this way is closed at one end and filled up with milk so that it will not dry. The pipes are tuned by adjusting the firm grass plug which closes the pipe end. After use, the pipe is again filled with milk.

[376] A complete reed pipe orchestra comprises at least nine musicians, each one with his own specially tuned reed or reed passage. Just as we distinguish the first and the second violin, the Hottentot distinguishes the first through the ninth reed pipe; only he does not count them, but names them individually. He makes the following distinctions: [Figure -- Reed pipe scale.]

1. ≠kxa·ri≠ā·ti, that is "the little reeds," all tuned the same, with four to six placed side by side in each hand.

2. *!nona·gu, the triplets, or collectively called *nona·b, the trey, tuned the same and held in one hand.

3. *!nani·gu, the sextuplets, or called collectively *!nani·b, the "sixer," held in one hand and tuned the same.

4. *//hū·√irob, or //hū·√irokxa, accordingly as the blower holds only one or two in his hand.

5. ai·ās, "who (-s) cries (ā, here with the meaning: "to make a lamenting noise") in advance (ai)." Only one man in the whole orchestra has this pipe whereas with the further exception of number 6 all other reed voices can be filled doubly or triply. This reed gives the note by which all the other reeds are tuned. Among the others the first to tune in is

1: Schultze--176A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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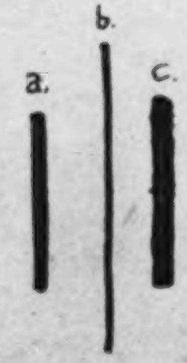

Reed pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.

[p. 375]

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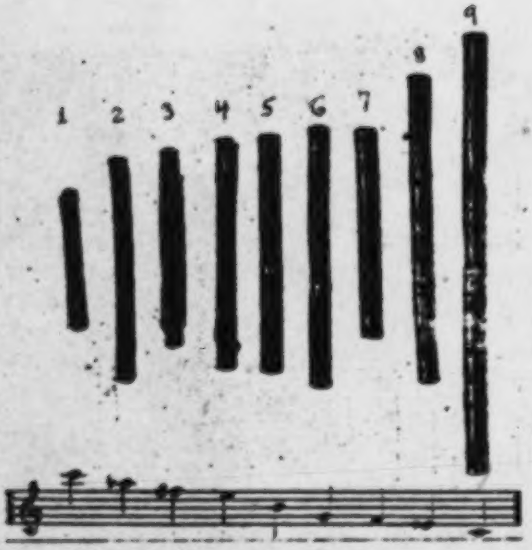

Reed pipe scale.

[p. 376]

6. the reed pipe, which is called ā!gā/s, that is "who cries afterwards (!gā/s, 'back')." After this the other pipes tune up: 533 534

7. °go/ma·s "the cow."

8. !a·rob, finally

9. °//hū/i·b, the reed with the lowest note.

The tuning rod, °//kχa·ehaib, with which the grass or bast plug [377] inside the pipe is adjusted or "chased back" (//kχaē) as it were in order to adjust the pitch completes the instrumental equipment.

The reeds are held between the thumb and the other four extended fingers in such a way that the ends which are blown lie on a level with the upper horizontal edge of the index finger. A complete reed scale or phrase comprises about two octaves. Only in one case did I have the opportunity to check the pitch of the individual reeds in a complete scale that had just been tuned up. The results yielded the distribution of tones that are represented in the preceding figure.

The music of each reed piper consists of individually enunciated tones that harmonize with one or several rhythmically identical tones of the other pipers. These reed tones give the beat for the dancers and singers who carry the melody. Many reed songs have no text. (Whether they never had one or whether it has simply been forgotten cannot be determined.) In the simplest case the subject is indicated by gestures and the melody is sung with a very few sounds.

The dance steps of the men are a sort of low hopping executed simultaneously with both legs, the knees slightly bent and the feet placed one in front of the other. In this manner the dancer slowly and jerkily moves forward, bent over, the head bowed to his breast and his lips on the pipe. The women chassé forwards with small and often extremely delicate steps, with the rear slightly protruding, undulating their hips, gently clapping their hands together before their faces, and singing in a loud voice, sometimes with an expression of great excitement. The number of dancers is not fixed. 533 535

The Hottentots' pleasure in the dance is typified by a little story in which they make fun of themselves: at a watering place they had ambushed several Bergdamaras. When the Kaffirs saw that they were in a trap, they began to execute a dance. Dancing, they retreated farther and farther, and, when the watching Hottentots finally recalled their murder plans, had escaped.

Every reed-dance song has a special theme. Thus, for example, in the following example the arrival of the bull at the water hole is illustrated. As the malevolent ponderous animal slowly wanders to the water hole, grazing alone in the pasture after the rutting time, muttering to himself, moving his head from side to side -- this is the way 533 535 the Hottentot pictures him, accompanied by the reed tones (or by an accordion or a harmonica), he sings with a few simple sounds for the dance of the grazing bull:

[378] The Song of the Grazing Bull

[Translator's note: four musical bars omitted.]

The following reed dance song accompanies a lively pantomimic imitation of shoeing horses and is therefore called the song of horse shoeing, ǂnaũǂais.

The man who represents the horse has a thong in his mouth and by means of this he is held fast, as though on a rein, by a man standing before him. To another man, standing behind him, he extends a foot to be shoed. A fourth plays the part of the bellows: he lies flat on his stomach, extends his lower legs into the air and lets them be moved alternately backward and forward from the knee, in time with the music, by a fifth man who stands behind him. Before him stands the smith with a stone in his hand as a hammer and waits for the iron to get hot. All the others, including the reed blowers, dance around this group in a circle and sing a wordless but rhythmically, unmistakable imitation of the blows of the hammer: [Translator's note: six bars of music omitted.]

In other dance songs, in place of the pantomime, we find that the situation which is being sung about is indicated by a cue word. Thus, one Hottentot, who occasionally crept into the cattle kraal of a neighboring village at night in order to milk goat's milk into his mouth, expressed in a song his joy about the fact that he had never been caught. He sang its single words, B(e)ridaise, b(e)ridaise, "you goat milk, you goat milk" to a melody that was just as unpretentious but that his friends liked to request for the dance: [Translator's note: six bars of music have been omitted.]

[379] On the same low level there is a song for which the following event is the basis. The singer had beaten his oxen guard with a sjambok because the guard had let a valuable animal run away on the trip. The punishment was so severe that the mistreated man lodged a complaint against his master with Captain Paul Frederik in Bethanie. The latter sent one of his men on horse after the guilty man and had him seized. The only words, which recur like a refrain in the otherwise unarticulated song, refer to the color of the above-mentioned horse, which had a white stripe on its forehead and white feet and therefore had the Boer

name witvoet. The circle of friends knew, when they heard this word, 533
what the song was all about. The melody goes: 535

Song of The White-footed Horse

[Translator's note: eleven bars of music omitted.]

Whereas the previously-mentioned dance melodies lack a complete text, in the following song it is at least loosely attached as a point of reference. In the brothers' war for the rule over the Bethanie Hottentots, Paul Frederik had occupied the most important water spots of the territory and Cornelius, caught in a tight spot, finally had to ask his brother for water. The text* of the song that concerns this war between brothers, a program for the music as it were, goes:

"Ti !gā̃tse, //nāti gōse !gaĩ ẽ̄ta //gami āre !"
!abuti ā̃tsa //gui ẽ̄ts //gami ā
"/guita tite."
"My brother, be good, be a friend and let me drink some water!"
"Put down your weapons and then drink water."
"I will not put them down."

[380] The relevant dance melody goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

In the Song of Kaukaussib text and melody are just as loosely connected as in this war song. Kaukaussib is a watering place in Namib, located on the southernmost of the three routes which can be taken by oxcart traffic between Angra Pequena and the hinterland. The road by way of Kaukaussib is the most difficult, and the carts often remain stuck in the sand for days. A Hottentot with the nickname ≠nau· bas (e)n≠nā·/b, that is "he who plays for his own dance," selected as a text the simple 533 words: !Gaokχa·osetse, hā·ta ≠o·are "Kaukaussib, let me get out!" 535 The constantly repeated melody to this text goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

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* In all the following texts and their explanations, with few exceptions (for example where it is a question of newly mentioned words), I have neglected to add the signs for the musical modifications of the Nama sounds (see p. 342 ff.). In the detailed analysis of the subsequently following folk tale texts the purely phonetic consideration is dispensable for the comprehension of the plot and hence makes it possible to save much space in printing. A theoretical reason for a simplified orthography of the text has been mentioned above (p. 363).

The text is more closely connected to the melody in the Hyena Song. This song portrays the hyena as it creeps around the cattle kraal at night and is discovered. The pantomimic presentation of this theme with its reed music, its song and dance, is very amusing: the men group themselves in a semi-circle, and opposite them the girls do likewise. The circle formed in this way with its two opposite openings (where the men's row meets the girls' row) represents a cattle kraal and the girls represent the cattle. To the accompaniment of the singing and the sounds of the reed music of all the people standing in the circle, one of the men steps out of the row and, with deeply bent knees, creeps into the kraal, moving past the row of girls with the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men step out of the row and pretend to ride up to the same opening of the kraal where the hyena had entered. With gestures and poses they tie up their horses, discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them until they suddenly notice the animal. Then they hurry back to the horses and take up pursuit. Meanwhile the hyena has left the kraal, but is caught outside it and killed. During this pantomime, to the rhythm [381] of the reed pipers, the following words are sung incessantly as a warning to the cattle-hungry predatory animal: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of Hottentot text omitted.]

"Hyena (the nickname will be discussed later), this (i.e., the cattle of this kraal) is man's property!"

3. Songs Without Dance and Pantomime

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At an early date I became acquainted with the Hottentot's pleasure in music by itself (dissociated from dance and pantomime). It was on the evening of a hard working day for our Hottentots; since early morning they had been dragging spars for the construction of sea signals to the top of the steep coastal cliffs, and now, long after the evening meal was past, they were still squatting around their fire. In the tents of the white men it had already become quiet and even the Cameroon sailors were asleep in their sailcloth berths. Then, from the miserable brush stockade of the Hottentot camp into which the cold winter sky shines starry clear, there resounds pure and serious a many-voiced song. A young fellow is standing erect amidst the ragged sitting older figures and, unconcerned about the smoke of the flickering fire that irritates his eyes, leads the chorus with a loud voice. An older man repeated the text in a short rapid sentence to the singers; it was a Dutch chorale that had been translated by a missionary into their language. For a long time I listened to the song of the "degenerate mob" until they crept shivering under their covers, closely pressed together, their naked feet extended close to the glowing ashes.

In their own songs the text does not always have a set word sequence and in choral singing the singers often improvise their own motifs, which they repeat again and again, with slight variations and after variably long or short pauses, until the text has come to an end. In doing so, however, they know how to weave their motif into the voice texture of the others without dissonance.

Most songs (perhaps all of them) have a definite event at their basis. Thus, years ago, a white carrier [382] unyoked his team at the house of the brother of old /E·ris and went to bed. A group of Hottentots, as is common, appeared in order to beg and to trade. In doing so they stole some of the provisions of the sleeping trader. The Witbooi Hottentot, who intervened to protect the white man's property, was shot down by the white man in an outburst of rage under the mistaken assumption that he was the inciter of the theft. The fate of the slain man lives on in family tradition and the women sing: "!Uri lendetse, /hai daos ai go !gabi ≠oatse, gai χũē dĩtsĩ, /aoba dĩtsĩ! tariē kχa nĩ nē kχoĩ /aoba !eream?"

"You white cloth (probably a reference to the hat veil or the scarf of the traveler), you who have ridden out on a wicked (literally "pale-colored, worthless") path, you have done a misdeed (intransitive preterite participle, literally "you have done a great thing"), you have spilled blood! Alas, who shall avenge the blood of that man? (literally "answer for").

After a short prelude on the bow the voices begin with the following motif:

[Translator's note: eight bars of music omitted.]

A love song of the simplest conceivable sort goes: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of text omitted.]

The lamenting text says: "I will never get you!"

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (χōse)," are straightforward. But not [383] χōs is intended, but χūs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment

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Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name 'tsū.χu tsa./be --- da·/ba tsa·/be. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsū.χa– and da./ba–; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsa/be.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin

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Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening, 825 and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray, ≠nabu·s), probbably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/Hai kχoëtse·, /hai /huru·, !gaba //kχūb gom !kχai χūba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, *!huriē. b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calandrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zigzag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om · dīre!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially [821] when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχu·ririseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): "/Gu·rub ≠kχa·rib, /gu·ri //goë·, hū·diros /gu·ri //goë·!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudiros lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., *//hō·rab, which is derived from //hō.ra, "to scratch around the ground

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "Χu·rigye go /a·os gye, hō.gye go ≠hã·ef gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (χuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hō) a springbok (≠hãef, neut. sing.)."

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The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, : go✓ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hō.rab, //hō·rab, /kχī·ẽ·kχ(u)m χau·sa !kχā !ā·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kχā, and "separate, !ā .) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go✓ra·b, go✓ra·b, kχi· ẽ·kχ(u)m !ha·nsa !kχā· !ā·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (≠na/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words *:" !hau·s !ga·rrase, !hau·s

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* The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

*Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord. 538 825

!ga·rrrase, !ōba /kχu·bi te, ĩ·ta tsaũ.ba !na.n !ā·, ta·naba ≠hũ.i si !" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/kχubi) me (te) the ax (!ōba); let (ĩ) me (-ta) chop up (!nan!ã) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (≠hũi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tĩ·tĩ·ses, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//kχum gaitse, nē gye tĩtĩses si χaiba ra āba !" "You old Nurukum (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//kχaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ≠āb t(u)mi //goe re." "Hey, you, Hansib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.") 533 857

A dung bettle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ≠uu - re." "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

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The children try to enchant the chameleon with the words: "!no·mtsi !no-meba, a·ma !nu·rubas õ·ab !" "Humpy old hunchback, child of grandmother (*amas) Nurubas!"

The baboon is honored by an especially exhaustive address. In a deep wadi near the Orange River we heard the apes calling on the surrounding cliffs. To the first one that became visible one of my Hottentots called the following greeting which is widespread among the people*: 533 539x

*Cf. Bleek's translations of animal songs from the manuscripts of the Grey Library in Capetown.

"herē·tse, hē·retse!
/hu·mi /ha·rutse,
//a·retse, //a·re /kχā·baĩtse,
!na·ohe gye //ga·ns //(e)ĩ /na·os(e)n !
≠nabu· !nani·b ai gye mã·tse
/nabu· a·maĩtse !
tsoa·ba gye ≠gaɜ·s !"

"For heaven's sake!* You are gleaming with fat!**

*Actually something like: "Good God!" from heere, the Dutch designation for "lord" with the Hottentot vocative ending of the masc. sing.

** The blades of the /hu·/mi/haru·s rush (see p. 229) glisten like fat; a hide that glitters like this is supposed to be the ornament of the young baboon. The opposite address which I also heard goes: "/no·ro /kχo·nibetse"; /kχo-nibeb is an edible underground bulb with a pale exterior.

"Old Lefty*! You are loaded down, you are loaded down with

*The use of the left hand is considered a sign of dexterity. [626]

your own flesh*! Hey you, standing up there on the dove's cliff** 533

539x

* As a characteristic of the dragging, forward-jerking movement of the baboon.

**The steep declivity of the Table Mountains is a favorite resort of the wild doves (see p. 384).

"you dove-mouthed fellow!* You who drag your anus behind you!"

*In ridicule of the baboon's long snout which, in the eyes of the Hottentots, sticks out like a beak.

2. Folk Tales of the Hottentots

*Aibe-gam-//aē-!gã/s-χūna. 538

Just as they call the horizon of the open sea the "back of the water," *//gami!gã/b, likewise they call the remote past, which is as far away as that horizon, the "back of time," *//aë!gã/s. In those days there were still no people, but sun and moon inhabited the earth, and fire was alive; all animals had manlike forms and felt and acted like people. Within the frame of this general conception the Hottentots' imagination reduces all his observations of the animal world and the experiences of his own life to folk tales, which have endured for generations without being written down. In the evening they squat in a circle around the fire of the hut or of the camp in the field, and each person gets a turn to tell his story. Probably it was from no feeling of superstition but simply from the very mood of those happy hours that the precept of allowing these legendary figures to come to life only around the evening fire developed. Anybody who talks about them in the day time might well conjure up the things (χū·na) of the past (aibe-gam)*

*I was not able to determine the etymology of the word *gam. It is used before aibe and ≠gūro, "formerly," in the sense of a demon. particle.

and thereby bring about irremediable confusion. Only after sundown does one hear the command !ho·are, "tell a story!"

Although the travelers of the eighteenth century already recognized the Hottentots' love of folk tales, until now only four stories were known in the language of the Hottentots themselves; they were published by Theophilus Hahn (78) according to notes made by G. Kroenlein and the Bastard J. de Bries. The rest that has been published on this subject is made up of translations and plot synopses in European languages. George Grey, the governor of the Cape Colony, had the curator of his library, W. H. J. Bleek, send a circular to the missionaries of South Africa with the request to send him everything that might be considered the beginnings of a literature of the [388] natives. Bleek published the results--unfortunately only translations-- although among the 40 stories of his collection 24 had already been copied down in the original by Kroenlein (unfortunately never published). A direct comparison of Bleek's translations with Kroenlein's original text is possible only in the story of the moon myth by means of Th. Hahn's publication of the original. In place of the title, which literally should be "The Moon and the Louse and the Hare," Bleek puts "The Origin of Death," and he suppresses the indecent louse (which also defiles the following text) by speaking instead only of a "little animal." One would pass over such minor details if one prudery did not lead to another and, finally, if it did not produce a result which is absolutely incongruous with the Hottentot's manner of expressing himself. How must a censorship which is so touchy about minor things proceed when the people really reveals itself without a figleaf? Since I am not acquainted with Kroenlein's manuscript, I must keep simply to a comparison of the style and content of my texts with those of Bleek. The translator considered it necessary to make "omissions and changes without which the fables would have appeared too naked in European eyes in order to make these Hottentot fables accessible to a larger public," and he believes that he is not violating the spirit of the fables in doing so. The texts that are published here give the answer: their form of expression reveals the bluntness of a primitive people in which none of the senses is neglected; here, where everything has a sanctuary and no part of the body is objectionable. And specifically little psychological traits in which are to be found the

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78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

driving motives for the judgments and actions of the folk tale figures are often bound to the most vivid and forceful expressions. The crude figure of speech of the old female elephant (Folk tale LVIII) characterizes in a word the rough conception of family life that the young wife (in the figure of a fly) wants to escape. The lion's address to the animals (Folk tale LVII) and his unreasonable demands are a striking illustration of the absurdity of an undignified and only apparent authority.

In judging the intellectual level of the people the form of presentation seems to me to count just as much as the content, especially in the beginning stages of an unwritten literature. It will be seen that the Hottentot never anticipates and depicts a character or a situation in his story in advance with an abstract adjective that reveals everything. Never did one of the Hottentots who told me their stories speak [389] of "a simple old hyena," as Bleek does, and never does an animal act "out of malice," etc. Rather, the Hottentot develops a situation, lets us eavesdrop on the conversations of the animals and lets them act before our eyes so that they themselves may show what their feelings are.

It is not astonishing that animals play a main role in the stories of a pastoral and hunting people. But one may not speak of "fables" simply because of this fact. The moral teachings that people have sought and believed to find in the animal legends of the Hottentots by analogy with superficially related indigenous works of art is in the majority of cases nothing more than the expression of an non-contemplative emotion, and by no means a moralizing one: thus we find hatred toward the oppressor and not praise of brotherly love (Folk tale LIX); ridicule of the presumptuousness of a weakling and not praise of self-knowledge and modesty (Folk tale LVII); malicious joy in the bad luck of an old deceiver and not abhorrence at lies (Folk tale XLII). After all, in other connections stealth and deception celebrate triumphs! Wherever more tender emotions play a part, like sibling love (Folk tale LVIII), a mother's grief (LI), the loyalty of friends (Folk tale XXVI)--here the portrayal, in its naivété, stands far above any sermonizing ulterior motive and in erotic matters the imagination with its sometimes bizarre digressions (Folk tale XLIX) leaves absolutely no place for the moralist.

Therefore when Bleek says of the animal stories of the Hottentots: "Children as well as adults who have retained their simple nature and whose taste has not been ruined by the poison of overstimulating reading will always take pleasure in the nicely expressed moral precepts that they get in any good fable; and the more profound literary connoisseur will likewise be delighted by these first innocent flights of the awakening human phantasy. To people such as these the Hottentot fables that are offered here will surely be welcome," etc., etc, I only see three possibilities of explanation. Either the translation is wrong; or the manuscripts contain only a selection of such tales which satisfy certain prerequisites of Christian moral teaching; or the Hottentot, cunning observer of human nature that he is, edited his stories in advance in usum Delphini, knowing well to whom he was telling them. However that may be, Bleek's reports about the stories do not show me the Hottentot as I have become acquainted with him; for this reason and because I had direct access to the source I took no further consideration of them in matters of detail. [390] On the other hand the translations of the missionary J. Olpp (88) reveal throughout an understanding and fidelity that can only be produced by intimate acquaintance with the people themselves. 538

Of the stories that are to be related here the autochthonous origin can surely be questioned in two cases: Folk tale XLVIII, in the course of its action, recalls a Wolof legend that Boilat published and Bleek translated. In this story the jackal of the Hottentots is represented by an elephant, the snake by a hyena, the porcupine by an ox, and the stone by a pit; but the rôles of each individual are, in meaning, the same in both cases. Furthermore, the story of the little traders (XII) corresponds in numerous details to a story of the Hereros that J. Rath copied down in the original language and Bleek again translated from the manuscript. I have no way of determining which people here had priority. 539 171

As for the others, I can only reproduce faithfully what I have heard from the mouths of the Hottentots and I must let others answer the question whether or not the folk tales printed here reveal any similarities to the folk tale cycles of other peoples and, if so, which ones. The exact proof of borrowings, if this should turn out to be the case, seems to me to be no less interesting as an insight into the dark pre-history of the Hottentot race than a confirmation of the originality of the stories would be. 538

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88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a people of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses. 538 128

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form. [522]

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are mentioned here in advance once and for all: 538 128 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kχa	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-ī	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-ē		-na

538 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles,
128 are:
193 i used very generally.

a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.

go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.

nī designates the future.

ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.

hā designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsī with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mī, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsī I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsī with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gīrib tsī χami tsī ≠hīras tsīna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsīs gye go ≠nā, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsī gye go ≠nāhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gōati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 538 128 193

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness

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In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call *ǂai!gā/mū*ǂχab, because its eyes (mū*ti) are not in its face but on the back (!gā/b) of its feet (ǂaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called *kχoē-oren (kχoēb "man," *ō-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name */gaū-ǂbes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikχoēseb,

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that "Unique Man," (66) who was the first of his kind to inhabit the earth.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen. Ethnographie, (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867.)

Among the Hottentots I ran into another conception of the /gu-rikχoēseb, that perhaps arose later: he was described to me as a hunter who lived alone in the wilderness with his wife and his dogs; in accordance with this one would simply call him a person who has settled off by himself and in short the "hermit." Accordingly the word /gu-rikχoēseb would then be formed in analogy to the word /gu-riseb, a designation for the springbok ram that has been expelled from the herd and lives alone.

[394] [Text omitted]

Translation of I

The Girls Who Take a Walk to the Village of the Aigamucha Woman

531x

Girls (/gōati "daughters) went walking (sari narr. pass.) to the (//ga) kraal of the Aigamucha woman; and when they got there (sī, with the personal suff. of the subj.) one (/gui) of them ("a person," kχoīs, fem.) is pregnant (!gom): this one is addressed (mī "to say") like this by (χa) the Aigamucha woman: "Come (/kχī), let yourself (literally: "and ē [imperative], I -ta, massage you -sī") be massaged!" (!guri, cf. Care of the Skin, pp. 207 and 215). And she is massaged. Then her (ā, root of the poss. pron., -sa personal suff. of the possessor) front apron (!gaēb) was bound together (!gai "to bind," //are "to unite") with (/kχa) the front apron of the former (//(e)īs, personal pron.), and the others (expressed here only by the personal suff.) went home (//aru, vb.).

The one (nau, literally: "other") girl, however, was held back (!kχō "to catch," maī "to place") and told (gai) to lie down (//goē).

X539 and she lay down. Then [her] coccyx (/ama, "tip," ≠are- "of the buttocks") is cut off (!gao//nā) and the fat is roasted out (aira).*

Then the woman put (≠nũi) the little pieces of fat (gaub "fat," -ro, [395] dimin.) individually (/gui /guibe) into (!na) tortoise shells (/gabiti) and poured (≠nā) the drippings (//nuina, neut. pl.) over them (ai) and put (maī) them, one after the other (saogu), on (am !na) the path (daob) that her sons (indicated by the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl., -gu) had to come (nī, verbal particle of the fut.) Then she danced (≠nā) and [sang]: "Whoever (-ba, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc.) stays (hā) at home (!haīs, "kraal," ai "in"), [makes] nevertheless (χabe) a finding-of-food!" (≠ũba hōs). Thus (tumi) she danced away (bē). But when the woman had gone away, [the girl] takes (ū) a stone (/uiba) and puts (//gui) it where (-ba) she had lain and runs away.

Then [the sons] came where the tortoise shells were standing (mā), emptied (abu) them and hastened (!kχoē) up. And the woman comes towards (ais ai) [them]. But the stone, so (ti) she thinks (≠aī), is the girl, and when she saw (mũ) the sons* coming along (!goaχa), she covers (!gũ !gā) [it even more]. And they came. Then she said to the one: "Take the ax (!ōaa) and (ē, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. -ts) air (/hui) the covers (≠namte) there (//nā) and chop up (//hā) the thing (χũē, neut. sing.) that is lying there (//nāba)!" And he began chopping, but the blade (am !naba)

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*All of the following is expressed in the form of the narrative passive. One might consider it a use of the true passive if the forms ≠nā/he and bēhe did not make it clear that the former is intended. In translation these clauses are reproduced in the active with a definite subject.

*Expressed by the suff. -gu. The personal suff. of the subj., -s, is attached to this personal suff. of the obj. Without this heaping up of suffices it would have to be expressed this way: !goaχas go kχoēgu.

*539 "mouth part") of the ax broke (*kχõ/a). Then he said: "How (matisa) is this, mother?" (ais). And she replied: "That [is] no (toma "not," ĩ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) thing that is supposed (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to sound (*!naũ) like that (tĩ) [when it] talks" (mĩ). Then they uncovered it and saw that (!kχaiĕ) it was a stone. Then they killed (!gam) the woman (tarasa) immediately (/ãse) and ate (ō) her up.

[396] [Text omitted]

Translation of II

The Two Women Who Were Taken Along by Aigamuchab

And it happened this way (hĩhe "was done"): Two (/gam) women (kχoĕra) had gotten lost (!kχoĕ "to hurry," /ari "to lose"). And they came (/kχĩ) to (ai) the place (!kχaib) where Aigamuchab refused (//hā, ta = ra) cattle food (//ūna, neut. pl.).* Then they [called]: "Man, [you] who (-ĕ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) are hammering (!gō!gō) there (nĕba), take (ō) us* to the (//ga) kraal! (//gaũs, p. 232).

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*The smooth, shiny, yellowish, innermost layer of fibers of the bark of the thorn tree, which tastes sweet, is sucked and then twisted into twine.

*Literally: "one," kχoĕĕ = "person" in the neut. sing., corresponding to our impersonal "one." This indefinite manner of expression is preferred to the personal pron. of the 1st pers. if the request is made to a stranger. In this form I heard women ask strange Hottentots for tobacco.

539 Then Aigamuchab looked (gō) up and says: "Let (ha) me (-ta) show (//gau) you (si) the kraal." And they went. But the fat (gausa) woman remains (hā) behind (kχaus ai); in this fashion (//na tumi) the two go away (bē), go [farther and farther], but the one (nau) woman turns around (oa).

Thus, the man [Aigamuchab] sees (mō), when (o-) he looks back, only a (/gui) single (/guisa) woman. Then he asks (tī), and the [397] woman [answers]: "I know not (ūta), she stayed behind." But he [cursed]: "Come on (hā ī), you (-sa) child (ōas) of the great (gaib) dirt-scum penis! (!garab, penis, cf. p. 320). A pack of twins (/gē/gōab "twin"; χūba, contemptuous for "thing") is supposed to go along with each other (sao "to follow"; -gu, reciprocal particle), isn't it (gom--o)?"

Then they came (sī) to the doba) kraal of the * Aigamuchab.

*Here the gen. particle di receives the fem. personal suff. because it follows the substantive which it governs.

And when (o) he got there, he said: "What? (tareē) the thing will never (huga "ever"; toma "not") taste good! (//kχoa). Cut [her] (!gao) throat (tomi) off! (-χa). Let (ē "and," imperative) us (-gye) [at least] lap up (!hum) the soup (surosa) [from it]." Thus he spoke.

Thereupon they (-gu) seized (!kχō) her (si), cut off her throat. And when she befouls (χau) herself (s(e)n), they cry, "Grab (χaba) the fat from the anus!" (tsoa//nuiba), euphemistic term for excrement) and they ate (ō) it up (toa, "to end").

But he looked for the tracks; (mā "stood," ai "on," ≠aib "her foot") and he comes along, finds the track (daoba), follows it (!kχō) and catches up with the woman (sao "to follow," sī "to arrive," //are "to come together"). Then the woman produced a foul (tsau "sofa") stench (/ō, vb.), [as though] she would spontaneously decompose (*nora) if (?) he caught her. But he says: "[You] stink sweetly, (≠kχun) you (-s in /guis) will just fit (≠gā) into (!na) my (ti pot (sūs), that's (kχoma) the way it smells (tsā "to taste")!"

And he hastily (!kχoē, vb.) looks for (ōa) the pot. Then the woman gets up (kχaī) and runs away* home (//aru "to return home").

*The fut. ending nī in !kχoē-nī indicates that she expects to be pursued.

X 537 And while the woman was running away, he comes (/kχĩ) dragging (!kχara) the pot, comes up (hā), looks in disappointedly (//kχui "to miss") and called: "Sweet stinky, where (maba) did you go?" (ĩ). Thus (tumi) [it happened].

[398] Text omitted]

Translation of III

The Man-Eater Who Had a Daughter

The man-eating woman (kχoë-oresi)* had (expressed passively and genetically: ū "to take or to get," hã "to remain," ĩ along with hã expresses a condition in the past) a daughter [also had] cattle (/goan) and she herded (!ũi) the cattle. And men appear on the scene (/kχĩ) in order (nĩ expresses the intention and ga the possibility) to marry (!game) the daughter (the personal suff. of the obj. is followed by that of the subject, -gu). But she comes (hā), when (o) the men are sleeping (//om), and kills them (//hā!an, with the personal suff. of the obj.).

Then one day (/gui tsē) a man came along (!gũng, vb.) who (literally: "after he," -tsĩ particle of the definite past) had brought two female lions (χam-arira) with him; also he took a stone (/uiba) and put(//gui) it on (ai) the place (!kχais) where he (//(e)ĩb) wanted to lie down himself. And while (hĩa) he was waiting, she came and slaughtered (≠ā) as a favor (-ba) to him (bi, suff.). Then they went to sleep. But at night (tsũχuba) she comes with (literally: "having taken") the ax (!ōba). But the lions ward (//kχai) her off. And as the lions chase her back thus (//nāti) the man awoke (≠kχai), took λ 539 took the stone, put it in the spot where he himself had lain, and fled (bē̃).

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*The -i in oresi is a demon. root that is occasionally attached also to the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., -b. This -i is frequently replaced in the story by the root χa.

[399] Now she came and began (//hā̃ "to come hither") to chop up the stone. Then she hurried (!kχoē̃) after (!gon) him and caught up with him (sao "to follow," //are "to come together"). But he climbed (!aba) up a tree (hais). Then she (//hā̆ nā) chopped the branches (//naũga) with (/kχa) the ax. But when (o) only a single (/gui/guib) branch was left (!gau), he signaled (≠gai "to call") the two lions with the sweat brush (!nabes, see Care of the Skin, p. 212), and the lions came up and caught (*!kχō̃) her.

Then the man escaped, and when he came (sī) to his kraal (//gaũs), he slaughtered three (!nona) cows (gomate). But when the lions began to eat (ō) of (doba) the third (!nona //(e)ī̃s) cow, he struck them dead* (≠noa!an).

[825] *For he was afraid of the blood lust of the lions after they had tasted human flesh, namely that of the man-eater, who is conceived as being anthropromorphic.

[Text omitted]

Translation of IV

The Aigamucha People and the Hottentots

To (ai) Aigamuchab's kraal (//gaũs) people (kχoīn) had come (/kχī), and (tsī̃) an Aigamucha girl (-sa, personal suff. of the fem. sing.) was slaughtered (≠ā̃he) in their honor (-ba, verbal particle, emphasizing in this case the connection with the ind. obj.). But when (o) the time (//aē̃ba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed to be called (≠gaīhe) [to the meal], [400] they take (ū̃) their own* (//(e)ī̃, root of the

*Because they do not trust the hospitality.

*539 personal pron.; -n, personal suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut.; di, gen. particle) meat (//gana) [that they had brought along themselves], and when they were called, they go (sī) there with (/kχa) their own meat. When they (expressed by -ba, a verbal particle in the objective case) had been served (hora-he), they ate (≠ũ) also (tsĩ) their own meat and put (ū) the meat of the Aigamucha girl into (!na) the covers (≠namti). Then they gave back (//kχai "to turn, return," //nā "to leave") the dishes (!oreti) and go home (//aru).

And when the next (nau = /nĩ) morning (//goas) came (//goa), a ram (baiba) is caught (*!kχōhe) [by Aigamuchab] and buried* (//kχōhe)

*As bait for the people that the man-eater wants to catch.

in a hole (ȧb). After (tsĩ, verbal particle of the past participle) the sheep (gūba) was buried completely (toa "to cease"), a dog (ariba) is tied (double vb.: !gai "to tie" maĩ "to put"), and then they go away (!gũng with a pass. ending). But the others (the humans) dig (kχao) up (≠ui) the sheep. Then the dog breaks (double vb.: ≠gai "to pull"; !gao "to cut") the strap (!hãuba) and runs away (!kχoē) and [howls]: "The one (-ba, full personal suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc.) with the bushy (/gom) back of the head (!noros) is being taken!" (u---he, sustained long in imitation of the howling of the dog). Then the Aigamucha men (-gu = ga, masc. pl.) came again (oa, vb.) with (/kχa) assagai's (gõagu). But the others seize the weapons (!abuti). Then the former were afraid (!ȧo) and go back (oa).

[401] [Text omitted]

Translation of V

The Woman for Whose Child a Dog is Substituted

A woman (kχoēs) bore (ora, narr. pass.) a son (/gõaba), but the other women (tarate) did not (toma) grant (*≠aĩba) [him] to the woman and took (ū) the son, went away (sī) and laid (//gui) [him]

7539 on the shore (am !gã, "along"; //gam̃i, "the water"); but near the woman they laid down (-ba, an objectivizing verbal particle) a dog (ariba). Then an Aigamucha woman found (hō) the [exposed boy] (bi "him") and took him and comes (sī) home (//aru, vb.) with* him

*The verbal relation of certain postpositive prepositions as well as preceding prepositions is seen clearly here where the word ū is used as a preposition and needs only a copulative link in order to be a verb.

And during the time that (hĩa) he stays (hã) with (/kχa) her (//e(ĩ)s, personal pron.), he becomes big (gai).

Then, when (o) she had gone away (!gũng) [one day], he went to (//ga) a Boer place (//gaũs, "kraal") and seeks (õa) advice* (/abe).

*How he could free himself from his foster mother.

Thereupon water and chena thorns* and a mountain stone (!humi) --

*The little prickly fruits of Tribulus terrester L. (Zygophyllaceae).

all these things (tsĩ "and"; -na, personal suff. of the neut. pl.) -- were given to him by (χa) the Boers as well as two(/gam) horses (hãkχa, dual masc.). Then he rode (!gabi) away. And toward evening (!ui a) she comes (/kχī) and when, having arrived (hā go, abbreviated participial construction), she calls (≠gai) him, it is (i gye a) quiet (!nōsa). Then she followed the trail (mā "stood"; ai "on"; ≠ai "the foot"; that is to say, "of the fleeing one") and was about (sĩ "to come") to catch (sao "to go along behind"; //are "to come together") him and called him, "Little Kaffir (kafferki, borrowed from Cape Dutch), [402] my (ti) child (õa)!" Thereupon he answered (oẽ): "Mama!" and let the water flow out (//nā and χū "to abandon"). [--The water becomes a lake.--] Then she swam (tsā) and swam x539 through (≠oa "to go out") while (hĩ a) he (-b) ran away (bē), and again (//kχaba) she was about to catch him and called him: "Little Kaffir, my child!" and he answered: "Mama!" and let the stone (!huma) euphonious for -mi) fall. [--The stone becomes a mountain.--] And while she stands there (//nā) on (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) the mountain, he hastened away. Then she was again about to catch him while he (-b, in //gaũsab) approaches (/gū, ta = ra) the kraal [of the humans]. And she called him: "Little Kaffir, my child!" and he answered: "Mama!" and dropped the chena thorns. And while she (-s, after //nāba there") stands there to pull out (!ora) the thorns from herself (-s(e)n, refl. particle), he hastened away and came to the kraal.

Then the men (expressed by the personal suff. masc. pl. -gu) immediately (ai "at the"; //aẽb "time"; //nā "there") set out and come along (hā, vb.) to lie in wait (//goẽ am) for her (si, suff.) along the edge (am !na) of the path (daob). Then she came and they shot her (/noa!an) her dead.

[Text omitted]

Translation of VI

Aigamuchab and the Jackal

Aigamuchab and the jackal, the two of them (-kχa, suff.) were going (!gũng) to //ga) a strange (!hao) kraal (//gaũs) and along the way [403] (aigu) they slept (//om) and arrived (sī) on the next (*nau) day (tsē).

Then a head of cattle (/goaẽ, neut. sing.) was slaughtered (doubly expressed: /ā "to sharpen"; -ra, participle of progressive action; mā "to give"; and ≠ā "to slaughter," -ba, objectifying particle, he, pass. ending) for the two of them (-kχ ā, suff. of dat.-acc.) and it was poured out (hora) for them into (!na) a single (/gui) bowl (!ores). But the jackal cuts (!gao) fat (gauẽ, neut. sing.) off and puts (≠nũi, "to set") it back* upside down (!kχuni !na ai). But Aigamuchab

x539

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*With the meaty side up so that his companion will not recognize it as fat (which is always

considered a tidbit) and will leave it
for him.

slices off [a piece of this for himself]. Then the jackal looks (gō) him in the (ai) face (ais), but (χabe) sees (mũ) no (toma "not") eye (mũĕ, neut. sing.). And again (//kχaba) he cuts off [some fat] and puts it back upside down, but Aigamuchab slices off [some of this for himself]. Then the jackal looks into his face and still cannot see an eye.

Then when (o) the two of them had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff. of the subj.) eating (≠ũ), the jackal (suff. -b after haiĕ "wood," neut. sing.) looked for ("looked (gō) that he might" nĩ, "take" ū) a piece of wood on the floor (!hūb) for (ga "that") picking his teeth (≠kχora; approximately: "to grasp something unattainable with the hand," -n abbreviated from -s(e)n refl. particle, //gũn "teeth," neut. pl.). Then he saw the eyes and said: "Fill (hā, -ba objectifying particle) [a pipe] for me (te, suff.), you (-tse, suff.)!" And when the pipe had been filled for him, he tossed (tsoro) tobacco into the other's (ā, root of the poss. pron., -b, personal suff. of the possessor) eyes and ran away.

[Text omitted]

[404]

Translation of VII

The Girl Who Marries into the Bush-Jumpers

A girl (/gõas "daughter") had married (!game, narr. pass.) into (!na) the people (!haos) of the bush (hai) jumpers* (uri, vb.) and

*A legendary people that do not walk between the bushes but leap over them effortlessly with high bounds.

moved away (//ā "the moving of a girl from her parents' house into the home of the husband); and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the x539 3rd pers. dual masc. - fem.) came (sĩ) to the(ai) kraal (//gaũs) of the husband (kχoĩb).

And when (tsĩ in hãtsĩti, participial construction) she (-s in tsĩs) is (hã "to remain") [there] a few days (tsēti), the bush jumper women (indicated by -ti in hãtsĩti) were fetching water (//gama, vb.) one day (/gui tsẽ). Then they jumped [over] the bushes and came to draw (χuri) [water]. Then, when (o) they had drawn (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) enough (toa "to stop") and turned back (oa), they again (//kχaba) start jumping (≠goaχa, vb.) and come (hā) humping up and say (mĩ, with objectifying particle -ba) to the husband: "For the sake of your (sa, stem of the personal pron. 2nd pers. used as poss. pron. when the di of the gen. particle is omitted) wife (taras) to whom you (sātsa, full form of the [405] personal pron. 2nd pers. masc.) are married; because of (!ama) her (//(e)ĩs, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) you will (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nĩ verbal particle of the fut.; the two words have been contracted to tsĩ) yet perish!" * (//ō). So they said.

Then he caught (!kχō) her (si) and her (ã, the root of the poss. pron. becomes the full poss. pron. when the personal suff. of the possessor is added) two (-kχa, suff. of the masc. dual) bones of the lower leg (!hai "to hurry," ≠kχōb "bones") he cut (≠ā) out (≠ui), and he gave (mā) her two giraffe (!naĩb) hides (kχōra, fem. dual) and chena thorns (a collective form with the suff. of the masc. sing.)--all these things (tsĩ "and," -na suff. of the neut. pl.). Then her daughter carried (tani) the two hides and she carried the thorns. And they walked and walked until sunset (sore≠gã). Then they made a stop (sĩ "to arrive") and slept (//om). When morning (//goasa) breaks (//goa), they see a lion (χama) approaching (!goaχa). Then they let (//nā) one giraffe hide fall (χu "to let lie") and went. And when the lion had eaten (ō) it up, he again set out after (!gõa !gũng) [them]. And they saw him (-bi, suff.) coming and again dropped a giraffe hide and went on. Then they ran on, but when he had devoured it (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle), he came on. But they saw

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*Because she cannot jump and he, since he belongs with her, could easily be caught in the event of pursuit.

him coming again and dropped the chena thorns and walked on. And while (hĩa) he stands (mã) there (//nāba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) pulling (!ora, with the refl. particle s(e)n) the thorns from himself, they come to a cliff (/uib) and say: "You (–tse) stone (/ui–) of my (ti) ancestors (//naoχan), a great (gai) mob (!gũs) is on the march (!goaχa) behind me (!gã te); therefore (χuigye) open (!ā) your flanks (?) to me (te, –ba), won't you?" (re). Thereupon the cliff opened itself (//kχoba ams(e)n) and they went (i) [through]. Then the lion came along behind (kχaos ai) and said: "You stone of my ancestors, a great mob is on the march behind me; therefore open your flanks for me won't you? Then the cliff opened only (/gui "single") a very little bit (≠kχari "small," –ro, dimin. ending, –se, adverbial ending) and as soon as (*tumis ai) [the lion] just enters (literally: [406] nĩ "is on the point of," */gui ti gō "to look like one thing," that is, in a line drawn with the cliff opening) with (/kχa) his neck (!aos), it closes (≠gan ams(e)n). Then his (ãba) head (tanas) hopped (!ai) alone (/guri) and there it died.

And the woman came home (//aru, vb.). Then a calf (tsaũba) was slaughtered (≠ā) for her (expressed by the objectifying particle –ba) and [its] two lower leg bones were inserted (≠gā) [into her]. Then she [calmly] sat down (≠nũ), and when she was healed (≠uru) she was allowed (gai) to run (!kχoē) to (//ga) the calves. But then one leg (/nūb) broke (*tson) down. Then they let her sit quietly again and she sat down. Thereafter she was allowed to run again. This time she did not break down and was healthy (≠gau).

[407] Text omitted]

Translation of VIII

The Girls Who Went Into the Gara Berries

Girls went (!gũng, narr. pass.) for (//ga) gara berries (neut. pl.), and they came (sī) to the place and picked (hare). But all (hoate = -ti) the others (*nauti) picked sour (/kχuru) berries (–ba, collective suff. of the masc. sing.) and only one (/gui) of the girls picked good (!gaĩ) berries. And when (o) it became (!ui) evening, they went home, and while (hĩa) the sun (sores) sets (≠gã, ta after s, is euphonious for ra) x531 they say: "Let (hā) us (-se, suff. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. in the dat. acc. case) taste (tsā̃ tsā̃) the berries, let's (o), and they tasted the berries. All their (di, gen. particle) berries are (a, present particle) sour. Then they say to the one (-sa, personal suff. in hā̃sa) who had (u "to take," hā̃, particle that expresses a condition) sweet (ǂkχon) berries there (//nā): "Your (sa, stem of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers. used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) berries are not good. So (χuigye) turn back (oa) and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the subj.) go (sī) and pick where (–ba in hareba) we (sise, personal pron. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. exclusive) picked!"

Then she turned around and went picking. Excrement (χausa) had had been excreted* for (–ba, objectifying verbal particle) her, and when [408] she* came up (hā) where the others had stopped (ī "to go," hā̃ "to remain") she called (ǂgai). Then the excrement answered (oĕ): "Here!" (ʿhe, general answer of anyone who is called to); thus (tumi) it answers, but despite this (χabe) she sees (mũ) no one (kχoĕĕ "person," neut. sing.; toma "not") and goes past (!gũng ī). Then she came to the place where (literally: "while" hĩ a) the hare (!õas) was sitting (ʿǂnõa) in order to draw (χuri) water, and she said: "Draw (!kχā) for me." (te, intensified by the objectifying –ba). Whereupon the hare: '[this] tortoise shell cup (/gabi) "the back shell of the tortoise") [is] my (ti) grandfather's (//naob) and my own (tita, personal pron. meaning "I." The genitive relation is expressed here simply by adding the thing possessed to the possessor.) Solely (/gui, with the suff. of the 1st pers. masc. - fem. dual –m) for the two of us (tsĩ "and," with the above-mentioned suff.)." Thus he spoke. Then she seized (ū "to take," /hana "to rob") the cup from him (–si, fem. suff. referring to õas) and drank (ā).

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*In order to make it easier for her to find her way back.

*Expressed by the fem. personal suff. –s in tsĩs and hās. The –s in bas ("where") picks up the subject again in accordance with the repetition of the predicate in the protasis.

x539 But the hare hastened (!kχoẽ) to the lion * and said: "My grandfather, if (o) I (-ta, suff.) tell (mĩ ba) you (-tsi, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. in the dat. - acc.) what (χũẽ) I (tita, personal pron.) have seen, I wager (ga, concessive particle) you will (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.; nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.; both contracted to tsĩ) make (guru, with the objectifying particle -ba) me (-te, suff.) a front apron (//gam !gaẽb) and a back apron (//gan !gus), both." Thereupon the former said: "I will make [them] for you." Whereupon [the hare]: "While I am saying that the tortoise shell cup is that of my grandfather and my own and belongs to us two alone, the cup was seized [from me]." Then [the lion] hurried off and caught up (hã "to come," sao "to go along behind," //are "to come together") with the girl (expressed by the personal suff. -si). And they chased each other in a circle (!kχoẽ and //hame) around a tree (haisa). Then the lion fell (//nã) and she threw herself (literally: "seated herself" ≠nũ) on (ai) him (-bi, suff.). But he cried: "Get off (kχaĩ) me, please." (-re). And she got off him and again they chased each other in a circle. Then the girl (kχoẽsa "person" fem.) fell and he threw himself upon her. But she cried: "Get off me, please." But he said: "Today (//goas "the morning") is no day for getting up as a reciprocal (-gu, reciprocal particle, -be, adverbial particle) favor [409] and killed her. Then he pulled off (//hau //na) her skin (kχõba), crawled (≠gã "to go into") into (!na) the skin and ate (o) the girl and finished eating (toa "to cease") and went.

And he came to the kraal (//gaũs) of the girl; at the time when (hĩa) the cows (gomati) were being (pass. ending he with the personal suff. of the subj.) milked (/ao) he came there. And he drank up (!kχabe) all the milk (daiẽ, neut. sing.) that was set before him (maĩ). Then the people say: "My! (kχa) the girl never (huga "ever," toma "not") drinks like that (ti) after all (gomo)!" Then the sleeping (//om) time (//aẽba, not //aiba as on p. 407) came. And when (o)

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*"Big Back," gai !gãb; see folk tale names of the animals.

x539 he (-b after //goē "to lie down") lay down, the younger little sister (literally: "the young"≠kχam, "little daughter" /gõaros) lay down there (//nāba) near (/gūse, adv.) to (doba) him (//(e)ĩb, personal pronoun). Then he feels about (tsã) for the navel (sunisa) of the little girl [in order to insert his claws here and kill her], but the little girl shoves (≠hā) his (ā, root of the poss. pron., -ba, personal suff. of the possessor) arm (//õab) away (bē), and afterwards (ēga) she gets up (kχaĩ mã) and asks (tẽ) her mother (//gũs): "Why (tareĩ !ama) in the world (gum---o) isn't this my sister?" (*ausi, personal suff. attached to the negative particle; for more information see p. 301). Thus she asked. Whereupon the mother: "Tomorrow (//ari) I will see about it, but (*hũ gye) lie down here (nēba) [with me]."

And the sun rose (//hai "to go up") high (/gabi), but then (//goasi) he was still lying asleep (expressed passively). Then the people uncovered (/hui "to uncover," /kχāb "body") [him], and when (o with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they looked (gō), it is a lion. Then they heaped (//gabo) firewood (/aēna, neut. pl.; not /aina) on (*!gã) him and set [it] on fire (!kχā and ≠hubi). And the heart (≠gaosa) of the [slain] girl leaped (uri) high out of it (≠oa). Then they took it and put (≠gā) it in a gourd (abas). Then they poured (//ai) the milk of a young mother cow* into it. Then it became again that (//nā, demon. pron.) girl; it came to life (ũitsaba).

[410] Text omitted]

Translation of IX

The Girl Who Was Always Caught By the Brothers With the Noose

The sister (!gãsasa) was always being caught (≠hao, the x539 particles gye and re indicate a frequent practice and at the same time the past) by (χa) the boys (aχagu) with /kχa) thongs (!haũgu) by the leg. Then she ran away (double vb.: !gũng and bē) and she went (≠gã) into (!na) a Buiver tree (//garas, Aloe dichotoma L.; see p. 112) and made (dĩ) the rock-rabbit (!aũsa) her maid servant (!gā) and every (hoa) day (tsēti) the boys [come] there (//nā) under (*!gao) the quiver tree; yes, there (//nāba) they come (hā) to drive up (double vb.: ≠nau "to hit," maĩ "to place") [the cattle], and yet (χabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they do not (/ū) know that (!kχaiĕ) someone (kχoĕï "person," neut. sing.) is hidden (≠gana, vb.) inside.

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* //kχaob "lamb," not a calf or a kid; but with a following attributive (cow or goat) it is used to designate any mother cattle as long as its young still has no horns.

Then one (/gui) of the boys was watching (!ũi) [the cattle] with the son (õab) of the mountain Kaffir woman (damas) of his mother (//gũs, di gen. particle). And the two of them (-kχa, personal suff. masc. dual) went under the quiver tree to lie down (//goĕ). And
[233] when (o) the cattle (/goan, neut. pl.) ran away (!gũng; during the hot noon hours the cattle are driven together into the shadow of a tree), he sent ("allowed" gai, "to go") the little mountain Kaffir (damaroba) out to chase [them] back (//kχai). And he went to turn them back, and while (hĩa) he [411] comes back (oa "to turn around," /goaχa "to arrive"), fire (/aĕs) smoke (/ana) becomes [visible], and while he comes he says: "Master (*/hon-kχoĕtse, vocative), [don't] you (-tsa, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) see (mũ) smoke (neut. sing. in the sense of some undetermined sort) rising (≠oa) from (χu) this (nē) quiver tree?" Then he looked there (gō, vb.) and said: "You are lying!" (≠humi). But the little Kaffir said: "The smoke is rising into the air." Whereupon the former: "You are lying; in just a minute (/āse) I will hit (≠nau) you (tsi, personal suff.)."

And on the next (nau) morning (//goaga, "early at sunrise," in contrast to //goab "early before sunrise") the two of them come /kχĩ) again (//kχaba). Then they both saw the smoke, come up, and [the boy] said: "In just a minute I'll chop down (double vb.: //hā "to chop," !gao "to cut") the tree (hais) for us; open!" (//kχoba am). Then they opened [for them] and the two went in. And the one (the young Hottentot in contrast to the Kaffir) married (!game) the girl.

Then they went away. And when (o) they came to (doba) a mountain (!homi), they said to (//ga) the rock-rabbit [in order to x539 get rid of him]: "Come, let (ē, imperative) me (ta) lift you (si) up" (double vb.: ū "to seize," !aba "to climb up"). Then they put him on (ai) a ledge (/uib) and deserted him ("to go and leave"). Ever since that day (tsēs) rock-rabbits live (literally: "is a remaining"; hã, vb. substantivized by the personal suff. -sa) on ledges.

[Text omitted]

[412] Translation of X

The Giraffe Tree That Killed People

A giraffe tree (//ganas, with the old demon. particle -ī) had [already] killed (!gam, narr. pass.) [many] people (kχoīna, neut. pl.). Then two men (-kχa, personal suff. masc. dual) rode (!gabi) there and unsaddled (sī "came," *ore !gã "to saddle") there (//naba). And the one (/gui) man slept (//om), but the other (/gui, with personal suff.) stayed (hã) awake (≠kχai gari, "to be about to do something"), and lying (//goë, with the ending of the pret. participle) on (≠ama) his back (!gãs) he watched (gō) [the branches]. Then the giraffe tree stirred (gon). And the man (expressed by the personal suff. -b) took (ū) a thorn (//kχūba) and stabbed (!kχā) it. Then the tree quivered (≠gō "to turn aside). But the man had hung his cartridge belt (!kχoasa) on (ai "at") the giraffe tree. * Now he takes down (ū //na) the belt, but the tree seizes (*!kχō) him (bi, personal suff.) by the cartridge belt and grasps the belt.

Then the two saddled up (*gai !gã) and rode off. But although (χabe) they hastened away (bē, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the giraffe tree stayed close by (/gūse) and while (hīa) it becomes this (//nāti, with the personal suff. of the subj.; the narrator raises his arm as high as he can) big (gai) it comes (hā) over their (ã, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessor) heads (≠am!nab, masc. sing.) and hurls itself (//goĕ) upon them. And the tree killed the one that had watched it (mũ, go, particle of the pret. with the personal suff. of the subj.) there (//nā), along with (/kχa) his horse, but the other one got away (!kχoĕ "to hurry," dā "to overtake someone," or generally: to be faster; si is the obj. of the double vb., and a personal suff. referring to //ganas). Then the tree went back (oa, vb.).

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* ≠gā "to insert," maī "to place."
hā expresses the completed condition; in German, if the subject is to be retained, the sentence can be expressed only by the past perfect.

Then again (//kχaba) two carts (gunira, dual fem.) came /kχī), and the men (-gu, personal suff.) unhitched (//hũ !ao) there. [413] Now as soon as (/gui, literally "one with") one [of the wagons] had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff.) unhitching (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after hĩ, "to do"), the men shared (//hā) meat (//ganĕ, neut. sing.) under the giraffe tree. Then they saw blood (/aoba) and left the meat behind (//nāχu) and cried: "Come, drive the oxen (gomaga) up (ū "to take") and (ẽ, imperative) let us (-gye) hitch up." (≠gaĕ /ao). Then they hitched up and drove away (!nari). But the giraffe tree grew big, and when it was exactly (*/gui ti gō, "to look like one thing") over their heads, it fell (//nā) upon them. And it killed carts and oxen and men, completely (toa "to finish").

[Text omitted]

Translation of XI

The Two Brothers Who Found a Piece of Coal

Two brothers (kχoĕb "person," !gāb "brother," -gu here is probably a reciprocal particle, -kχa, suff. of the masc. dual) had gone out (!gũng, narr. pass.). Then they found (hō) a piece of coal (≠nomsa "charcoal") and the older (gaiba "big") shattered (≠nau "to hit," !ā "to spread") the coal with (/kχa) his sjambok[a](!nabab). Then the two went on.

[a] [Dutch for "driving goad." - Analyst]

X539 But when (o) the sun (sores) set (≠gā̃), the coal (expressed by the fem. suff. -s in os) started burning (kχau) and rose (!aba) high [414] (/gabise), and when it was close (/gū̃, vb.) to the two (kχā, suff. in the dat.-acc. with the suff. of the subj.), it called: "I (tita), fiery one (/aẽs, "fire," !na "in," -ta suff. of the 1st pers. sing.), fireborn (ōas "child," /aẽ !nas designates the mother), make a double catch ("/gama ≠haru "to kill two beasts with one shot), the two children of one (/gui) man!" (aoba). Then the younger (≠kχama "young") reached (ū) for his knife (gō̃aba) and stood up (mā̃), and the charcoal came (/kχī) and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) fought (!kχam). But when he was defeated (dā "to step"), he jumped (sī "went," ≠gā̃ "to go under") into the water (//gami), and they kept on fighting. But when the morning (//goas) came (//goa), the coal went out (/ari).

Now when it was extinguished that one came to (doba) his brother (here in short: "person"), who (hī̃a "while") was lying there (//goẽ, with the personal suff.) full of fear (!ao, vb.) and asked him: "Why (tareĩ !ama = tareẽ !aroma, with the suff. of the addressed and pers. sing. masc.) do you not (toma) help (hui) me (te, suff.)?" But he answered (kχum "to speak") nothing ("not something"). Then they went home (//aru, vb.) and got there.

But when they had come home, the fire flared up at night (tsū̃χuba) and set the kraal (//gaū̃sa) on fire (≠hubi, vb.).

[Text omitted]

[415]

Translation of XII

The Two Brothers Who Chase the Calves into the Field

Two (/gam) boy brothers (aχa-!gā̃gukχa) chase (!kχaĩ) calves into the field. There they find (hō) the goas plant, and while they are (hā̃ "to remain," and an auxiliary vb. expressing condition) there (//nā̃) with (/kχa) the goas plant, they met (hō) a woman (tarasa). And the woman gave (mā̃) them (kχā, dat.-acc. of the 3rd pers. masc. dual) an awl (≠orosa, old-fashioned designation for ≠um//naos, "sewing point") and takes (ũ) the goas plant. Then the two went on.

And they come (ĩ) to (doba) a man (aob) -- the man who is pulling (!um) a thorn out of himself (–s(e)n, refl. verbal particle) with his member (/aob, actually: "what one conceals," /oa, that is "penis"). Then the two say: (expressed here only by the auxiliary vb. gye) "We (sikχ(u)m, exclusive form of the 1st pers. dual masc.) have here (double vb.: u "to take," hã "to remain") an awl, whereas father* pulls a thorn out of himself with his member." And they gave the man the awl, and the man gave them a walking stick (//kxaibas(e)n, haib old-fashioned pronunciation; now usually //gaĩbas(e)n haib).

Then the two of them came to boys who were beating (//hum) honey (danisa) [from a tree stump] with a stone. And the boys asked (≠gan) the two for the stick. And they gave the stick and received (mā "to give," he, pass. ending) honey. Then they went on.

Then they came to guinea hens (/kχinati) that were eating (≠ū) field onions (!hana) there (ˉba, demon. particle of place) and said: [416] "We have honey while you (–so, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) are eating field onions." Thereupon the former reply: "Now give us (–se, dat. -acc. of the 1st pers. fem. pl.) [some] then (//nai), won't you?" (–re). Then the two of them gave to them (ti) and went on. But [illegible] hens had given them feathers (!amga).

Then the two came to boys who were feathering (*//guiri) arrows with sheep (gū) hair (/ûb) and [said]: "We have feathers, and yet (χabe) you (–go) are feathering the arrows with sheep hair?" Thereupon they say: "Well then, give us (gye, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) [some]." Then the two went on, but the boys had given them milk (daina, neut. pl.).

Then they came to a mother dog (//oa "to bear," aris "bitch") -- to one who was eating excrement (χaub) and they said: "We have milk whereas you are eating excrement." Whereupon the bitch: "Then give me (–te) some!" Then the two gave to her (si). But when (o in okχa) the time (//aēba) had come (/oa, "was full") when they had to (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) go away, then

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*Formed from the Dutch oud "old" and the Hottentot dadab "father."

[53] they think (≠aĩ): what (χūe) will be given the two [of us]? and [say]: "We had gotten milk from (χa) the boys [and have given it to you; now] kindly (re) give us [something in return]."*

*Here the story ends. It is regarded as obvious that the boys come out empty-handed.

[Text omitted]

[417] Translation of XIII

The Man Who Is Killed by Lightning

A man (kχoēb) went hunting (!au, narr. pass.) after (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after ū "to take," narr. pass.) he had taken his bow (kχāsa); and while he was in the (!na, with the personal suff. of the subj.) field (!garob), a storm (/nanuba) rose (//hao) and it rained. Then he situated himself (sī "to go," mā "to stand") under ("!gao) a giraffe tree (//ganas), and the storm killed (≠nau, narr. pass. [him].

Then on the next ("nau) day (/se) the jackal came (/kχĩ, narr. pass.) and said: "I will drive ("≠na/m, "to go to turn") the giraffes (!nafte, fem. pl.) there (//nā) [to you]" and hastened (!kχoē) away and turned [the giraffes] and arrives with (ū) [them] and [calls]: "[Shoot] the one in front! (o, interjection; ei! hereupon the jackal points at the one running in front, gau "giraffe" with the personal suff.); the one running behind (sao, vb.) [shoot!] the one following then! the one following this (//(e)is, personal pron. of the 2nd pers.) same one* (//kχāsa)! the one following behind this one itself (≠ū,

*The jackal cannot count. His hasty and clumsy way of expression is intentional comedy.

with personal suff.)!" Meanwhile (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj.) the giraffes all (toa "to end") ran past (ĩ, vb.).

539 "As truly (ao = "because," introducing the oath, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) as our (sakx(u)m, personal pron. of the 1st pers. masc. dual inclusive form, used in the sense of the poss. pron. when the gen. particle is omitted) two (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) sisters (!gā-) [live], I will go (sī) and chase back (//kxai) [the giraffes] just this (nē) one time (nās)!" Thus he said and hurried away and turned the giraffes, and when he came up with them he said: "Shoot the one running in front! The one running behind! Shoot the one following! The one following that one! [418] Shoot the one that now follows this one itself!" Meanwhile the giraffes all ran past.

Then the jackal cut (!gao, narr. pass.) a long (gaxu) rod (indicated only by the suff. -ba) from the au bush (Grewia flava D.C.) and said: "Why (ᶜtaē, abbreviated from tareē "what") do you (-ts) not (tama) want (≠gao) to shoot (//kxaū, -ba, objectifying verbal particle) the giraffes?" and struck (≠nau, narr. pass.) him. But the rod (haiba) slipped (ī, "to go past") behind (!gābe) the man and along (ū) the giraffe tree and struck him in (ai) the groin (≠oab). * "My (ti) little brother (!gāb; -ro dimin.; -tse suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. vocative), I will not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) do (dī) it again (//kxaba)." Thus he said and ran away (ᶜ!kxoē-nĭ, narr. pass.). And when (o) he had climbed down (//gōa, narr. pass.) behind a mountain precipice (ᶜ!gōab), he sat down (≠nū) and looked at (gō, narr. pass.) the weals made by the rod (literally: daoba "the way that the rod had laid" //goē) and said: "You dirt-scum (!haĭb) genital (≠nūis "vulva") child (ōaba), you have indeed (ga) struck me (te, personal suff. with the personal suff. of the subj.) painfully (tsū tsū, vb.)." Then he passed the man from behind (literally: "at his" āba, "back" !gāb) and lay down and watched [him].

But when that one did not move (gom), he saw (mū, narr. pass.) that (!kxaie) he was dead (//ō, vb. with the personal suff. of the

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* The jackal believes that he is being struck by the very man whom he wished to punish; he quickly pretends to be sorry and says: (see above).

531 subj.). Now he came (/kχī, narr. pass.) up and seized (!kχō) the bow (with the personal suff. of the subj.), cut (!kχai and !gao) the joints (where the stockings, -- *uni break off --, of the bones come together, //ae) of the hand (!omi) and took (ū, narr. pass.) the bow and went (!gũng, narr. pass.).

[Text omitted]

[419] Translation of XIV

The Hermit and the Lion

The hermit said to (//ga) his wife (taras), while (hīa) they were playing (//am) the hole game (//hũsa, see p. 314) with each other (-gu, reciprocal form): "If (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -s, 2nd pers. fem. sing.) the baboon should (ga, potential particle) come (/kχī), then you must (nī, fut. particle) pretend to be asleep" (*//om//oms(e)n).

And when (o) the baboon came, she pretended to be asleep; but the man (aoba) took (ū, pret. participle) the male (aore) dogs and went (!gũng). Then the baboon (expressed by the suff. -b) was bitten (nã) by (χa) the female (tarereti) dogs, and [only] when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) he became faint (≠kχabu, vb.) did the woman get up (kχaī, vb.) and ward off the dogs (literally: "forbid" !kχaī, "for" -ba "him" bi). Then when he had received (pret. participle) milk (daie), he went over (ii) where the men were playing the hole game.

Then [the lion said]: "What has happened (dī) to you (tsi)?" and he answered: "The bitches bit me (te, suff.)." Whereupon the lion: "Tomorrow (//ari, with the suff. of the dual masc.) the two of us will (nī, fut.) take a nice little walk * to the Vlei (!kχubis)."

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* *tū-!kχoe, literally: "to run to pasture," I also heard this same designation when children

*539 ran off to play and tumble about. In these extremely harmless words the lion clothes his intention of revenge.

And when it was still dark (!kχaē) over (ai) the land (!hūb), the lion went away; and while he climbed (!aba, hā "to come to") up a tree (hais) that stood (mā) in(!na) the water (//gams), [420] the hermit came. But the dogs, when they went to drink (ā), saw (mū) the shadow (somsa) in the water, and each (hoaba) dog that comes down (//gōaxa) growls (literally: "becomes angry," //aixa) and stands.

But he (//(e)īb), the hermit, drank. Then [the lion] leaped (uri) down (//gonaxa, down), but he jumped out of the way (≠gō), and the dogs bit [the lion] to death (nā!an).

b) The Bergdamara or the Mountain Kaffirs

538 The Hottentot, as we saw earlier (p. 323), has no high opinion
541 of the Bergdamara. This is also expressed in the short folk tale
*539 in which he makes fun of the baboon-like appearance of his black servants (Folk tale XV).

There is only one characteristic that he ascribes to them without reservation: the precocious independence and fearlessness of the Bergdamara child that is celebrated in the war story in Folk tale XVI and in the lion encounters of Folk tales XVII and XVIII.

On the other hand, the Hottentot, with his strong sense of family discipline, is struck by the lack of parental authority and filial respect among the Bergdamara. Anyone who hears stories XIX and XX from the mouth of a Hottentot sees clearly that here only a satire on the degenerated family relationships is intended. Likewise the dirty joke in XXII has the same intention.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XV

x539 **The Mountain Kaffir Who Imitates (//gai) the Barking of the Baboons**

When (hīa) the baboons (/nēragu) were eating (ǂū) rushes (ǂāna, neut. pl.), a shit-Kaffir (Bergdamara, p. 323) and a (/gui) man (kχoiʔb "person," masc.) came (kχī, narr. pass.) along, the two of them (tsī kχa), and the baboons fled (*!kχoē-nī). Then the man said [to the mountain Kaffir]: "Try (tsā) once, won't you (re, optative particle), [Plate XVI. Bergdamara.] [421] to bark (!hao) like (kχumi) the baboons there (//nâ)." And he barked. Then the mountain Kaffirs (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -n after tsī) became (gai) baboons.

[Text and six lines of music omitted]

[422] [Translation of XVI]

The Mountain Kaffirs and the Hottentots

The mountain Kaffirs (-n, euphonious -na, personal suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut., including here men, women, and children) live (//an with the pass. ending) lonely (/guri). Then (o with the personal suff. of the pl. masc., gu = ga, since it is only a question of fighting men) the Hottentots (namaga) went (/gũng) to (//ga) the Kaffir kraal (//gaũ) to kill (!gam) the Kaffirs. And on (ai) the day (tsēs) [on which] they (//(e)ĭgu) intend (nī, verbal particle of the fut.) to arrive (sī), the Kaffirs leave a little Kaffir behind (!goro) [as a guard] and (tsī) look for field onions (!hani, "field onions," -re gives the word a verbal character). And while (hīa) the little Kaffir stays (hã) there alone (!guib), the Hottentots (expressed by the -gu in tsĭgu) come (/kχī).

Then some (/nīga) say: "Let (hâ) us (-gye) kill the Kaffir." So they say. Thereupon the others (/nīga): "Oh (ao), what (tareē) will (nī) such a (-ē, personal suff. of the neut. sing. in the sense

*539 of an undetermined sort) Kaffir do (!oa) with his anus in the onion skins?" * Whereupon the others: "Let us -- [for] the Kaffir will blab (!hoa) -- Kill the Kaffir!" Thereupon the first ones say: "The little Kaffir [is] young (ǂkχam); [he] will tell nothing (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative)." Then they ceased (/ũ, go verbal particle of the pret.) and got busy making (di) an enclosure (//kχuib, "an ambush hut for wild animals," //goē "to lie") and lay down.

But while they are lying down, the Kaffirs came, came while they are lying asleep (//øm). And the little Kaffir continues (ra, verbal suffix of progressive action) to pick up (nabo) onions and [sings]:

"Let's kill him," so said some.
"What will he do, he with his anus in the
  onion skins?" So said the others.
"The Kaffir will blab." So said some.
"We'll just look at the Kaffir!" So said
  the others.
"The Kaffir is big." So said some.
"The Kaffir is dumb." So said the others.

Then the mother (//gũsa) [asks]: "What (taē, abbreviation of tareē) is the little fellow (daoroba in Kaffir dialect instead of damaroba) saying there like that (ti)?" But he keeps on picking up [onions]. Then his mother tossed (/ai, -ba stresses the relation to the obj.) onions to him (bi); now he told, and the mother told it to the other (ⁿnau) Kaffirs. And some (women, children, old folks: -n, neut.) immediately ("at the time then") went away (bē), while the other (/nĩ) men (ⁿaoregu "young men," in contrast to aogu) stay (hã) there. But (//nãgu) the latter go [then to the enclosure] and start a fire (double vb.: /kχã and ǂubi). And they set fire to all (hã, see footnote on p. 424) rifles (from !abu, "to pop") and to

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*Serob "skin," -χa, adj. ending, tsoab "anus," he, pass. ending. The little fellow is sitting at the hearth fire and picking leftover scraps from the garbage.

539 all the cartridges (from //hã, "to stuff"), and they shot off (!hui). Then all the Hottentots died (//ō "to pass away," toa, "to come to an end").

[Text omitted]

[424]

Translation of XVII

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Climbs up to the Game Hoard of the Lion

The little Kaffir was looking for firewood (/aĕb. The suff. -re takes the place of the gender ending and gives the word a verbal character) with !kχa) his mother (//gũs), and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) came (hō) upon the game hoard* of the lion (gai!gāb, ("Big Back," folk tale name of the lion.) Then the little Kaffir climbed* up (ai) the tree (hais) and threw (ao) [some of the booty] down (//na) to his mother; he threw down little (-ro, dimin. particle) pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -na, ending of the neut. pl.).

But when the time (//aĕba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nī verbal particle of the fut.) to go (!gūng), she told (gai)

*) !naosa, from !nao "to load." In order to protect the slain game from hyenas and jackals, the hunter sometimes hangs it on a tree, as the lion has done in this case. [224] [251]

*) ≠oa. The verbal particle •!gā indicates a special goal of the action, as for example !aba!gā "to climb up" (on a wagon in order to bring down a recalcitrant person) in contrast to !aba "to climb up," when the wagon is ready to drive off.

x539 him (bi) to climb down (//gõaχa, the older form is //gonaχa, p. 420 above). But he does not (toma) want (≠gao) to climb down. Then she says: "The lion is coming (/kχī) right away*, climb down!"

But the little Kaffir does not want to climb down. Then [she entices him like this]: "Come along (/kχī), come (hā) and steal (!nari) something nice* for your father (saob)." But he refused (≠kχa).

Then she went.

Now while the little Kaffir stays there (hã), the lion comes and says: "Is that (ē, interrogative particle) a hunting booty for children (/gõa-)?" and calls (≠gai) all the hyenas (≠hīra), all the jackals /gīri-), all the silver jackals (!kχama-), all the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar.) (//ā-) together*(hao) and chases them up the tree (gai "to order," !aba "to climb up"). But they cannot (//oa) climb up.

Then, when (o) the hyena climbed up, the jackal lit (kχau) a fire (/aesa).* And the hyena got up (sī, with the personal suff.) [425]

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*) //gā "almost" "immediately"; for example, ≠nauhe //gāts go: "you were almost hit."

*) *χuiχa is obviously the old form for the present-day χūχa "rich." Compare tsui//goab and tsū//goab. Here, too, the Hottentot is making fun of the degenerated morals of the Bergdamara.

*) hã-, a particle expressing the fact that many things belong together; for instance, Naochomab (David Christian) and his people: ≠naoχoma hãgu.

*So that it could not come back, but had to climb up.

X539 to the little Kaffir [and] got (hō) [him] and said: "Why, he is beginning (tsoa tsoa, gum "why"), [to get nice and fat!"] Then the little Kaffir bit (nã) it (si), and it fell (//nā) down (//gonaχa) into (!na) the fire. Then they ran away (kχoē "to go," nĩ fut. particle, expressing the anticipation of pursuit).

[Text omitted]

Translation of XVIII

The Lion (χami) and the Little Shit (χau-) Kaffir

When (o) the people (kχoĩn) were going (doē) on their wanderings, the little Kaffir refused (ǂkχā, narr. pass.) to go along although (χabe) his mother (//gũsa) seized (ū, ta after the s is euphonious for ra) him (bi). Then (o with the personal suff. of the subj.) they left him there (literally: "he was let off," χuhe "to drag").

And when the sun (sores) had set (ǂgã), he assembles (sã) old (/oro) hides (kχōna, neut. pl.) and piles them up (double vb.: !nao "to pack," maĩ "to place") and lights (!kχā) a fire (/aēsa). And while (hĩa with personal suff.) he roasts (am; ta = ra) the hides, the lion (gai!gãba) comes (/kχi) and bares his teeth (*//gã) at him (bi). Then the little Kaffir* [said]: "No, no! (hm'm, [426] pronounced without articulation, an interjection of refusal), so (ti) you think you are going (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to get a taste (tsã)?" (ǂaĩhe, "is thought"), and again (//kχaba) threw (ao) a piece of hide (-ro dimin., ē = ſ personal suff. of the neut. sing.) into (ǂgā) [the fire]. And when the lion bared his teeth again (expressed adjectivally), he said: "You (-ts, masc.) will not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) get a taste! Whoever (tariē) you (expressed here by the 2nd pers. pl. -go, with the dimin. -ro; the Hottentot would say tariētsa etc.) are, who (replaced by the conjunction o) are laughing (aĩ "to laugh"; -ba stresses the

*Who in his fearless naivete thinks that the
fang baring of the lion is a flattering grin.

x539 connection with the obj.) at me, I (–ta) will not laugh."

Then the lion scratched (χora) him, and blood (/aob) came out (≠oaχa), and he licked (tsā) the blood there (//nā). Then the little Kaffir grabbed (ū) a glowing stick (literally: "fire mouth," a piece of wood that is glowing at one end) and set fire (≠hubi) to the lion. And it died (//ō) in the fire. Then the little Kaffir ate (ō) it (//(e)ĩba) up. And while he eats it, he grows (//kχara). Then his (ā, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessor –ba, masc. sing.) people came (/kχī) along and he goes to (doba) his mother.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XIX

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Goes Out With His Father

The little Kaffir went (!gũng, narr. pass.) out with his father (//gũb), and the two of them found (hō) an eland (!kχansa, ♀): Then the father cleans (!anu !anu) [the place of manure in order to [427] cut up the animal], and as (o) he cleans (ta = ra), then the eland says: "Fff---t."* But the father cleaned (ū "to take") out (≠ui) the excrement (χauna, neut. pl.) in (!na) the anus (tsoas); then the thing (χũsa) leaped (uri and kχaĩ) into the air and hurled itself (actually "sat down" ≠nũ) upon (ai) him (bi).

Then the little Kaffir hurried (!kχoē) home (//aru "to go home") and came to the kraal (//gaũs) and said to his mother: "*Sugasūbis (a vulgar term for the eland in imitation of the animal's snorting) and father (*abob, old-fashioned expression for the now customary dādab), x539 the two of them have fought (≠gaĩ) with each other (-gu reciprocal) and father was beaten (dā) in the fight," so he spoke to his mother. But the mother does not (toma) understand (//naũ !ā). Then the little Kaffir became angry (//aiχa) and [says]: "You,* mother (? ai- without a suff.), father will not (tite, fut. negative) come (hā) to sleep with you!" (χaē, vulgar expression).

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*The narrator is imitating here the hissing snorting of the animal. The old man pays no attention to the snorting of the animal and thinks that it is dead. The little boy recognizes the danger, but keeps quiet in order to play a trick on his father.

> *Given here in the impolite form with the demon. pron. nē and the fem. vocative suff. in order to express thereby the despised slaves' lack of respect toward their parents (which is supposed to be stigmatized in this story).

[Text omitted]

[428] Translation of XX

The Little Mountain Kaffir and His Mother

(//ŏa "to bear," gu verbal reciprocal particle ra dual masc. -fem.)

The little Kaffir had gone (!gũng, narr. pass.) with (/kχa) his mother (//gũs) to dig (kχao) [field onions]. Then they met (hō) a hyena (≠hĩrasa) and the woman (tarasa) stuck the hyena, which lay (//goē) sleeping (//om), firmly into (//kχam) (!na) the net (/ũib, see the description on p. 243; the click is misprinted there); and carried (tani) [it] away.

While they were walking (!gũngra go) the little Kaffir [asked]: "Mother! (aise) may (ga, verbal particle of the potential) the anus* be mine (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.)" "[That] is [not

> *tsoasa: the anus and the end of the rectum of a freshly killed animal is turned inside out and roasted in the coals.

x539 for children, but] for (di, gen. particle) fathers,"* [the mother

> *) saob "father." The suffix χan does not express, like the plural endings, a number of similar things, but the similarity of several things: saoχan refers to all who have the position of a father; //naoχan to all ancestors, etc.

answers]. Whereupon he (-b): "Then may the feet (!ūti) [of the hyena] be mine (tite - titi)?" And she answered: "[They] are for fathers." Whereupon he: "In just a moment (/ạ̄se) I (-ta) will (nī̃) cut off (!gao) this (nē) stick (haiba) here and clean out [the hyena's] anus!"* And continued: "Mother, may the liver (aĩsa) be mine?"

> *) /nuru. The boy knows that the hyena is not dead, as his mother mistakenly believes, and he now seeks to obtain something by threats. The words hī, χū, and χūs -- the latter two corresponding to our "thingumbob" -- are put into the Kaffir's mouth to show his clumsiness in expression. A Hottentot would never speak that way.

But she replied: "It is for fathers."

Then the little Kaffir cut off a stick and cleaned out [the hyena's] thing, its anus. Then it woke up (≠khχai) and bit (nā̃) the Kaffir woman (damasa) between the shoulders (ai "in," //hu "hole, depression," //ai "to come together": the depression where the shoulders meet). And the Kaffir woman [called to the hyena in her fear]: "You there (hē̃, here intentionally garbled from nē̃, demon. pron.; ē suffix of the neut. sing. 3rd pers.), just (re) wait (//nam) until I (-ta) gêt you (si) loose (≠hī)!"

[429] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXI

The Mountain Kaffirs Who Turn into Crows

x539 The Kaffirs had become (gai, pass.) crows, and after (-tsī̃, particle of the pret. participle, after //gā̃ "to tie around") they had put on white (!uri) cloths (!kχaiga) (corresponding to the white neck marking of the bird), they arrived (/kχī, narr. pass.) with (/kχa) bows (kχāti) and everything (-n, personal suff. neut. pl.).

Then the little Hottentot girl (/gõas "child," -ro dimin.) says: "Oh (ao), what sort of (ᵃtarebe) crows are those that are not at all (toma with the suff. of the subj., neut. pl.) like (kχoma "like," ī "to seem") the crows of our (sīda, pron. of the 1st pers. neut. pl. exclusive, used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) country (!hū̃b)?" But the mother (//gũsa) says: "But (χabe) crows come here (nē, demon. root) every (hoa) day (tsēte), after all (gum . . . o)."

And while (hīa) the Kaffirs (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. masc. -gu) were sitting there) (≠nū̃), the sun (soresa) went down (≠gā̃, vb.), and the people (kχoēna, neut. pl.; the Hottentots are intended) slept (//om). But the Kaffirs came and killed (!gam) them.

[Text omitted]

[430] Translation of XXII

The Man Who Went for a Walk (sari) to the Kaffir Kraal

A man came (/kχī, narr. pass.) into (ai) the kraal (//gaũs) of the shit Kaffirs (χau- daman, neut. pl.), and he got (ᵃau "to present," pass.) a dish of mice (duruna, neut.; favorite dish of the Bergdamara) and got hani-onions; thus he was treated (was done to him, hĩhe). But although (χabe) the people were ready for sleep (//om toa), he nevertheless remained seated (≠nõa).

x539 Then the Kaffir woman (expressed by the suff. -s) asked: "Hey, you (nē, demon., -tse, special form of the suff. for the 2nd pers. masc. sing.), why (tareë, with the suff. of the pers. addressed) are you still sitting after (tsĩ, ending of the pret. participle) I (tita) have given you field onions, after all (o), and mice (neut. sing.), and have treated you so well?" And he answered: "Well (gum . . . o), I have desires (literally: "I am on the lookout" /gona, -si adj. ending) for (a, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that which becomes flat (/hāhe, pass., -i suff. of the neut. sing.) when one sits (/nũsi, adj.)."

Then she called (/gai) her daughter and said: "Take (u) this man (aoba); and (ẽ) you (-ts, addressed to the man), don't (tā) stick (/gā and ū) the whole ("horaga = hoaraga) thing (ūë, neut. sing.) in; she is a young (/k am) little (-ro, dimin.) Kaffir girl." But he stuck the whole thing in. Then the girl cried (ā) and the old (gai "big," with the suff. of the relative substantive because it is placed after the noun) Kaffir woman said: "I (-ta) told you (sātsa), didn't I (gum . . . o): young is the Kaffir girl, don't go in (ao "to throw") with the whole thing!" Thus she spoke (pret. participle) and took the girl.

[431] c) From Family Life and Pastoral Life

538
x539 Folk tale XXIII is in praise of married love. Folk tale XXIV, exceptional in its strictly moralizing form, gives us a view of the duties of the children in the house. Folk tale XXV is perhaps only a fragment.

The legend of the rejected boy whom in the one case (Folk tale XXVI) the bull assists and in the other case (Folk tale XXVII) the cow, and the two folk tales about the stupid fellow (XXVIII and XXIX) are taken from pastoral life.

[432] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXIII

x539 The People Who Go in Search of Rushes

A man (kχoëb) had taken (!game, narr. pass.) a wife. And the man along with his brother (kχoë !gãgukχa) and the wife, the three x539 of them (tsĩ "and," with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) looked for (õa narr. pass.) rushes (/haruna), so that (ga) the couple (kχoĕra, "people," dual masc. -fem.) might (nĩ) sew (≠om) [house mats] for themselves (-ba, objectifying particle), [and they went out] with (/kχa) two (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) pack oxen (/garu). And near (doba) the water (//gams) they unsaddled (*ore "to loosen," !gã̄b "the back"). Then the two men went (/gũng) along to cut (!gao) rushes, but the woman went to the water to wash (//ā) herself (sen, refl. particle). And when she was busy (sĩ) washing herself, a frog woman (//gũtse-gũbesa) came out (!goaχa, vb.) and put on (ana, vb.) the clothes (sarana, neut. pl.) of the (di, gen. particle) woman. Then she said: "Frog, put down (≠nũi, vb.) the clothes." But the frog said: "No (hm'm), sister (*ausis, cf. "The Family," p. 301, I (ta suffix) am (hĩ) only (/guisa) trying [them] on." (ana "to put on," tsã̄ "to taste"). And when (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after toa "to cease") the woman had finished washing, she said: "Give (mā) me (te, suff.) the clothes, frog." But it ran away (!kχoĕ- nĩ) and goes there (sī) where (-ba) the men unsaddled. But the woman was ashamed (tao) and went (≠gã) into (!na) the bushes (hais). And the man (expressed by the suff. -b) took the frog woman as his wife in the belief (≠aĩ, "to think," in the pret. participle form) that it was his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., di, gen. particle) wife (tarasa).

But when (o) the people (expressed by -n, the suff. of the neut. pl.) went (ta, euphonic for ra) for the rushes, the former (-s in tsĩs, that is, his real wife) comes (/kχĩ) and cleans (!anu !anu) the hut (omsa), washes the dishes (χabana, neut. pl.) and pulverizes (χon) buchu (sã̄ĕ, neut. sing.) and makes butter (//nubu, vb.) [in the] calabash (abasa) and pours out (≠nā, -ba objectifying particle) some milk (daiĕ, neut. sing.) for the [old] woman (the mother of her husband, who is pictured as blind) and goes. Then one (/gui) day (tsē) the old woman said to her big (gaib) son (/gõab): "Hide yourself (go into) in this (nē) [433] rush mat (/harub) and (ē, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) lie (//goĕ) in it (*≠gana) and watch (≠an "to know") what person (kχoeĕ) is going about (hā "to be, to remain") here (nēba). And while (hĩa is used to introduce, like the conjunction o, the protasis as well as the apodosis and has here the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) he was lying there she came. And she x539 got busy (hā) sitting down (≠nū̃) and takes the calabash, and while she churns (ta • ra), he spit (≠ara) on (ai) her (si, suff. [to make himself noticed]. Then she ran away (//hai- nĩ) and he caught (!kχō) her, but she said: "Go to the frog woman, you who (sats, masc. personal pron.) have married (in the pret. participle) the frog woman and left me in the lurch." (//nā χu). But he caught her and wants (sī, begins to) to take her to the hut and wants to embrace her.

Meanwhile the frog woman [and the man's brother] came up, the two of them. Then the frog woman said: "Help me down."*

*She is sitting on the riding ox and demands the courtesy of being assisted in getting down.

(ū //na). But nobody speaks (!hoa) to (ū) her. Then he took the hippopotamus whip (!nababa) and came forth (≠oaχa, vb.) and struck (≠nau) her. Then she leaped (uri) down (//gona) from (χu) the riding ox and [cried]: "I (-ta) am a frog. I paddle (*≠nātsabu) in the water." Thus she cried and jumped down (//gõa, vb.) to the water. But when the man had found (hō) his (ã, root of the poss. pron.; -ba, personal suff. of the possessor) wife, he married his wife [again].

[Text omitted]

[434] Translation of XXIV

The Girl Who Curses the Kaffir

A girl (/gōas, with the old demon. suff. -i) said to a mountain Kaffir (damab), when (o) he came (hā) to sit down (≠nū̃) before (ai) the door (ams) of the hut (oms, fem.): "Like (kχoma) the calf (tsaũb), that stands (mã) in front of (ais, "face") the hut (omi, masc.) of my mother (ais), so disproportionately long (*≠nama) is your penis." (χāba) (*ū, vituperative particle). And takes (ū) ashes (tsaoba) from (≠ui) [the hearth] bestrews (tsoro, narr. pass.) him with (/kχa) ashes.

K539 Then the older (gai, "big," adj. with the personal suff. because it follows the substantive) girls say: "Consider (≠an "to know," nĩ, fut. particle) that he is an adult." (kχoēē "big person," neut. sing. with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed, –s fem.). But he replied: "Never mind (//nāχu, [435] "to desist"), she speaks this way out of (!ama) foolishness (gãb = gãsesib), so (χuigye) [let her go]."

And early (//goaga) the next (*nau) morning the girls (expressed by –ti, the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. fem.) went (!gũng) swimming (tsã). But when they had undressed (≠gai ≠ui) themselves (sen, refl. particle) and had gone down (//gõa) into (!na) the water (//gams), the Kaffir (expressed by the personal suff. –b in ob at the beginning of the sentence) took (ū) their (ã, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessors –ti) clothes (sarana) away. And only (/gui, with the personal suff. of the obj.) when they came out (≠oaχa), did they see (mũ) the Kaffir. Then they came (hā) up and said: "My grandfather (ti //naob, respectful form of address), give (mã) me (te, suff.) my hemmed* (//gam, an attribute of the back apron which is decorated with chains of beads; cf. p. 408) back apron (!gũs) and my front apron (!gaēb), all of that." And he gave it to them (ti, suff.), but to the one (–sa, personal suff.) who had cursed (/goē, with the personal suff. of the subj.) him (//(e)ĩba, pron.), he said: "First (aibe) run and (ẽ, with the personal suff.) pick (sĩ "go," !ora "to pick," with the objectifying particle –ba) me some thorns (//kχūga) near the giraffe tree (//ganab) that stands (mã) over there (//nā)!" Then she ran and picked and came (/kχī) back with them (ū). But the Kaffir grabbed (!kχō) her (si, suff.) and stuck (≠kχom) [her limbs so firmly together that she could not move] with the thorns. Then he lifted (ao "to throw," !aba "to climb up") her up into the giraffe tree and went away.

Then her people (ãsa kχoĩn) came (doē) past (ĩ), and first the two grandparents (//naosa = nao–, ro personal suff.) come by. Then the girl called: "My grandparents there (*nau, demon. root, –ro suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc. -fem.), look (gum - - - - o, interjection), the root (*!nomab) of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened,"*

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* The back apron is occasionally decorated with chains of beads.

*) maĩ "to place," *tan-tan-tan– "to hold

K539

> someone fast against his will." I heard this strange word also in the following connection: a messenger who kept someone waiting a long time was received with the words: "tareĕ tan-tan-tan maī tsi hã i?" The same expression was used to a pair of dogs that was inextricably entangled in copulation.

But the grandparents answered: "I had told you (sa, suff.), girl: please (re, optative particle) pour (χuri, with the objectifying particle -ba) out some water (neut. sing.) for me, [and you did not listen.]" Thus they said and went away.

[436] Then the two servants (!gãra) of her di gen. particle) mother (//gũs) come by, and the girl called: "You servants of my mother who are coming along (garu) there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "Didn't I tell you, girl: milk the after-milk (/gubi, vb. with objectifying particle) for me, let (ē "and," imperative) me (-ta, suff.) pour water in (≠nã; see p. 258), [and you did not do it?]" They said it (-tsī, particle of the pret. participle) and went.

Then the parents (//gũra) came along, and the girl called: "Venerable parents (aboχaro, dual masc.-fem.) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "Didn't I tell you, girl: straighten up (*!haibe, vb.) the hut for me, [and you did not obey]?" They said it and went away.

Then the sisters came by, and the girl called: "You (-so, suff. of of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) children of my father (dādab) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "We (seg(o)m = sig(o)m, pron. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. in the exclusive form) told you, girl: know that he is an adult." They said it and went.

Then her two (-kχa, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.) brothers came, and she called: "My brothers (-kχo, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc., !gã- = !gãsa-) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." Then they hurried (!kχoĕ) up and came there and lifted her (//(e)īs, pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem., di, gen. particle) calf* (tsaũba) up, and the calf

*The brothers, out of a feeling of shame,

*539

do not help their sister themselves because she is naked. Hence also the assistance of the bitch.

(expressed by the personal suff. -b in tsīb) brought the girl down (ū //nā, vb.). But the brothers sat down (pret. participle) behind (ai "in," !gãb "the back") the tree (hais), and a bitch (arisa) pulled the thorns out (!ora) of her. And when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -n, neut. pl.) the thorns had been pulled out of her completely (tao "to cease," in the pass., referring to the girl, as the suffix -s indicates), they went away.

[437] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXV

The Woman Who Kills Her Two Brothers

The fire (/aēs) had gye gye, verbal particle of the pret.) married (!game, pass.) the lion (χama = χami, ♂) and had moved (//ā, vb.: the moving of a young wife from her parental home to the husband's house; again passive in force) to his kraal with him. Then (o with the personal suff. of the subject in the dual masc. -kχa) the two brothers (gãsakχa) [of the fire] went (!gũng) to (//ga) her (//(e)ĩs) and came there (sī). Then she (-s personal suff. of the fem. sing., added to o, points to the subj. of the sentence, which in Hottentot is fem.) let (gai) the two of them (-kχā, acc.) lie (//goē) behind (ai "to, after," !gãb "back") the hut (oms). And while (hĩa) they lie there (//nãba), the lion came (/kχī) and kills (!gam) them. Then the guinea hen (/kχinasa) wept (a): " //gananab //gãb //gãb (imitation of the cry), the fiery (/aēbe) cloud daughter* is killing her (//(e)ĩs, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.; here used in the sense of the poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) brothers."

* Literally: /nanusa "cloudable," //nuris "niece" (see p. 302). This is an intimation of lightning--one of the rare cases of pathos in Hottentot.

[Text omitted]

[438] Translation of XXVI

The Boy Who Lives With His Sister

A boy (aχab) lived (hā "to remain," narr. pass.) with (/kχa) his sister (!gāsasa). And when (o) they (-ra, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.-fem., attached to the obj.) milk (ao) the cows (gomate), she (-s, personal suff. after tsī at the beginning of the sentence) hits (≠nau) him (bi, personal suff.) there (//nā) with the stick (hais) with (ū) which she chases away (≠nau !oa) the calves (tsaūna) [from the cows]. And when she gives (mā, ta = ra) him milk (daiē), he (-b in tsīb) only gets a little (≠kχari) sip of milk (-ro, dimin.) poured out (≠nā, -ba objectifying particle), and water (//gama) is used to fill up the rest (/oa), and he lies (//goē) outside (!auga) on (ai) the ashes (tsaos).

[439] Then one (/gui) day (tsē) the bull (//gōba) said: "to (doba, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) me (tita, pron.) you must (nī, fut. particle) come (/kχī) when you are watching (!ūi, ga particle of the potential) the calves; let (ē "and," imperative) me (expressed emphatically by the suff. and the pron.) give you (tsi, suff.) nourishment (≠ū)." And the boy, when he was watching the calves, went (sī) to the bull. And the bull told (gai) him to go (≠gā) into (!na) one of his feet (!ūs, sing.). He went in there and found (ū "to take") nourishment (≠ūna, neut. pl.) and a pot (sūs), all of that (tsī and -na, suff. of the neut. pl.). Then he came out (*≠oraχa, not ≠oaχa) to cook (saī); and when he had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff.) cooking, he cleaned (!anu !anu) the pot and went with it [into the foot of the bull] and came out (≠oaχa, vb.) and went home (//aru, vb.) after (-tsī, particle of the pret. participle after ū) he had assembled (literally: "taken") the calves.

But one day the sister said to her daughter (*/gōasisa = /gōas): "You (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem. after !gūng "to go") must go along once with this (nē) boy, then (ē, with the personal suff.) watch (gō) what (tareē, with the personal suff. of the subj.) he eats." (≠ū, ta = ra, !kχaiē, particle of indirect question). And the two x539 went and got there just when (hĩa) the bull was standing in the shade (!haū, "the shade-seeking of cattle during the hot hours of the day." mā "to stand") under (*!gao) a giraffe tree (//ganas). Then the boy lit (kχau) a fire (/aēsa) and went [into the bull's foot] and got nourishment and came out to cook; and when he had finished cooking, he cleaned the pot and went in with it and came back out again. Then the two went home. And when the daughter got there, she told (mĩba) her mother (//gūsa): "He goes into the bull and he brings out (ǂui) a pot and nourishment -- all of that (hā, copulative vb. in enumerations; see the footnote on p. 424), and when he has cooked (participial construction) he eats."

Then when the cattle (gomana, neut. pl.) had come [from the fields], the bull stood behind (kχao !gā) the hut. Then the sister said, while the bull was listening (//nau, with the personal suff.): "You (-ts, suff. of the addressed pers. in the 2nd pers. masc.) kill (ǂnoa !an) this bull." Thus she said to (//ga) her (ā, root of the poss. pronoun, -t personal suff. of the possessor) husband (aob). Then the bull said to the boy: "Your (sa, stem of the 2nd pers. of the personal pron., [440] used in the sense of the poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) sister said: "I am supposed (hā "to let") to be shot," he told (!hoa) the boy; "Therefore, (hūgye) we (-kχum, suff. of the 1st pers. masc. dual) shall (nĩ, fut.) to flee (bē) this evening (nē !oē)." And in the night (tsĩrχuba) the two of them (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) fled.

But the bull gores (!kχā) bulls to death. And then the boy takes the oxtails (/hāte, fem.) there (//nā), and with the oxtails he bought (//ama) a wagon (gunisa), bought oxen, thus he did (hĩ). Then he sold (//amaχu) the bull, and with the profit (literally: "With the things, wares," χūna "of the" di "bull") he obtained (ū) wares for selling. Then the bull came back (//kχaba) to him (//(e)ĩb, pron.), and they went away and sold to the people.

Then the sister also came (hā) in order to buy. But he demanded (ǂgan) a very (-gaī "large," -se adverbial ending) high (/gabise) [price]. Thereupon she asked: "Why (tareĩ!ama) do you demand, when I buy, at (gōse) such a (//nāti) height?" But he answered: "What (χūna) you (sas, pron.) had done (dĩ) to me, I have not (toma) forgotten (/uru) indeed (gum - - - o)." Then she knew (ǂan) that (!kχaiš) it was (literally: "is," a) the brother.

[Text omitted]

[441] Translation of XXVII

x531

The Boy Who is Left With Strangers

A woman (taras), when (o) she moved away (doē, narr. pass.), left her boy (axaba) behind (!goro, narr. pass.) with [strange] people (khoin, neut. pl.) and left (//nāxu, narr. pass.) a cow (gomaas) so that (ga) it might (nī, fut. particle) suckle (ā "to drink," dai "to suck"; -si gives the double vb. a causative sense) the boy with milk.

But the people buried (//han, "to put leather in damp soil in order to soften it," !gā "on, i.e. to throw dirt on [him]") the boy in (!na) a hole (āb), and when (o) they slaughter (≠ā) cattle (/goana, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.), they throw (taoro "to pour") the manure from the guts (/haraba) upon (ai) his (āb) head (tanab). Then the cow roars (ā): "My Hoab (!hōab, name of the child, -te, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. corresponding to a vocative ending), I am after all (gumo) the cow of your mother (saos) with the small (≠kxari) breast (sami). My Hoab, your mother tells (mī) me, [I am supposed to suckle you]." Thus she roars.

Then the people went away and left (xu) him there after (-tsī, particle of the pret. participle after ū "to take") they had taken away the cow. But the cow hurried (!kxoē) back (oa "to turn around") and came up (hā, vb.), dug (xoro) him out (≠hui), and they went away.

And the two brothers (!gākxa, dual) of the (di, gen. particle) boy just happened (hā, with the personal suff. of the subj.) to be guarding (!ū) the cattle (/goana), and the younger one had gone to drive back (//kxaē) [the goats]. Then he saw (mū) the boy (bi, personal suff. "him"), and when he came back he told (mī "to say," -ba objectifying particle) his brother: "I met (hō "to find") a ghost (//gaūba)." [442] Then the other said: "Come (/kxī), let (ō) us (-kxum, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. dual) go then (//nai): let me see (gō) the ghost there (//nā)."

And the two went and got there. Then the cow sang (//naē): "My Hoab, behold, I am the cow of your mother with the small breast. My Hoab, your mother tells me that I am supposed to suckle you." Now they knew (≠an) what was what and recognized (mū "to see," x539 !â "to explain clearly") the cow and took the boy and gave him milk (daiß, neut. sing.) and set (ãmi) him on a billy goat (b(i)rib) and went home (//aru, vb.) with (ü) him.

[Text omitted]

[443] Translation of XXVIII

The Two Brothers

Two brothers (kχoeb "human being," !gãb "brother," -gu reciprocal particle expressing their relationship, -kχa dual masc.) were watching over (!ũi, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goana, neut. pl.) once upon a time (gyere). Then the elder (gaiba, "the big one"), while (hĩa) the cattle stayed (hã) with (/kχa) the younger one (≠kχami, "the young one"), [went] to look for (oa) food (ãina, neut. pl.). And while he was (!goaχa) on the way with the bowl (!oms) full (/oa) of food, he saw (mu) his (â, root of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the possessor) shadow (soms) and said: "What (*taß, abbreviated from tareß) are you (-ts, suff.) looking for" and gave (mã) [the shadow] a (/gui) piece of meat (//ganß, neut. sing.) and went (!gũ).

And once again (//kχaba) he turned around ("he moved himself" gu, "backwards" kχaoi gã). Then he saw [his shadow] again and said: "Hey you, (nâ, demon. particle, -tse suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. vocative), that is not (tama) my (ti) food."* He spoke,

> *That is: "Therefore I cannot actually give you any of it."

gave it again a piece of meat and went.

And once again he turned around and called: "For the sake of (*nã) food which is not mine you are persistently running after (sao "to follow," mã "to stand") me (te, suff.). Take (ü) the bowl and everything [444] (hoaa "completely") and go away (oa)!" So he said, gave it (bi, suff.) the bowl and went.

*539 Then he came (ĩ) back and [the brother] said: "Where (maba) is the food?" And he answered: "To this person here (literally: "who is sitting there," (≠nõa) I (–ta suff.) have given everything (toa "to end")." Then the other said: "You (ta...tsa, pron.) idiot (gãre, adj.), why (gum...o), it is your (sa) shadow, that is all (χabe)." He spoke and went.

And while he was gone (/kχai), the other cut (!gao) open (–χa) the throats (domi) of all the cattle. Then the other came (/kχi) back and asked (tẽ): "Why (tare! "!gao) did you cut the throats of the cattle?" But he answered: "Since (0, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they did not want (≠gao) to stand still (literally: "to sit"), I cut their throats; oh (o), I was tired (tsau) [and did not want to run any farther]!" Whereupon the other: "That is a fine thing you have done (literally: "you are doing a great thing there"). Therefore ("huigye) get up (kχaĩ) and (ẽ, imperative) let us both (–kχum) run away (!kχoē and bē, verbs)."

So they went and came to the kraal (//gãus) of the Boers. There he saw fat (//nuiē, neut. sing.) standing in (!na) a container (χabas) and put (≠gã) his hand (!oma, euphonious masc. ending) in; but the container did not want to let it happen (ĩ) that it could come out again (≠oaχa). Then he broke (≠nau) it (si, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) in two, (!ā vb.) on (ai) a stone (/uis). Then the two of them went.

And they came to a tree (haisa, literally: "a tree was seized"), to a broad one (≠habāsa). Then they saw men coming (!goaχa) [the kind] who kill (!gam) people and take people's money (marina, neut. pl.). Then they climbed (!aba) up the tree. But the others came up, came into the shadow (here masc.) of the (di, gen. particle) tree, deathly (//ō, vb.) thirsty ("//gã, vb., –si, adj. ending), and lay down ("came up" hã, "to lie down" //goē).

Then the young one (indicated by the suff. –b) urinated (/kχam) on them; but they said: "The Lord"* (!kχūb) has given us (gye, suff.

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* That is, God. The narrator has come into contact with Christianity. Here he is clearly making fun of the conception that all happenings, even the revolting, are the ordinance of a benevolent god. Also, the technique of putting pious words into

X539

> the thieves' mouths as well as their foolish
> fear under the mask of piety is biting satire.

of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) water (//gamē, neut. sing.)," and drank (ā). Then [445] in turn he defecated (χau); but they said: "The Lord has given us food," and ate (ǂu).

Thereupon they take out (ǂui) their money, pour (ǂnūi "to set") it on hides (ǂgoati) and count (!gōa) it. Then the young one threw (ao) down (//nā, "to fall") a stick (!naoa); but they cried: "The Lord is falling (!kχom) upon us," left their money behind (χu, vb.) and ran away (!kχoē-mī). Now the two of them climbed down (//gōaχa, vb.), took the money and went.

Now the older one was told (gai, "to command") by (χa) a Boer to go and carry away a calabash (ababa). "Three (!nona) pieces of money (fem. pl.) I (-ta) will give you (tai)," was said to him, and he went off with it (ū).

And as he was going, he said [to himself]: "If (o) I ever (ga, with potential force) get (hō) sons (/gōab, -ro dimin.) I intend to name (tumi "thus") one (/guiba) the "firstborn" (ǂgūro, "the first") and to give him a piece of money, and to give the second one (gam //(c)ība) the second piece of money, and to give the third one the third piece; and if a fourth one (haga //(c)īb) should come, then like this -- the narrator makes a violent motion of repulsion -- I will chase (ǂnoa "to throw away," ǂgō "to shoo off") him to the Devil with this calabash." Thus [he spoke].

Then the calabash shattered (*kxōa), but he was captured (!kχō) by the Boers.

[Text omitted]

[446] Translation of XXIX

The Two Brothers Who Were Tending the Cattle

Two brothers were tending (!ūi, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goena) of white men (/hūn, neut. pl.). And one day (/gui tsē) when (o) the goats (biriti, fem.) groaned (!gaē), the older one (gaiba, "big")

539 said (in the pret. participle): "They are predicting death (≠/go/a, vb.) for me (tita)," and cut (!gao≠a) their throats (domi). But the younger one (≠kxama) said: "Oh (ō), they (-ti, personal suff.) have eaten (!ū "to graze") themselves full (//ā); for that reason indeed (gum---o) the goats talk that way!" But while (hīa) he spoke thus, (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the other had already (toa, narr. pass.) with the throat-cutting. Then they took (ū) the meat (//gana) and went away (!gũng).

And they came (sī) to (doba) Boers. But these poured (taoro) out (≠u) rice and ordered (gai) the two of them (-kxā, suff. in the dat.-acc.) to pick it up (sā kxaī). But while (hīa has the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were picking it up, white (!uri) crows (gorate) came (/kxī) and helped (hui) them pick it up, and the sack (//hōas) became full (toa "to become finished"). - - - - - - - -

Here the narrator stopped and, without any evident connection with the preceding, continued:

Then the father (ība) of the girl (kxoïs) whom the snake (/aob) had taken as a wife (!game) said: "Run and (ē, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) go to the kraal (//gaūs) of the snake in order to fetch (ūba) me (te, suff.) my (ti) child (ōasa)."

And he got there at the time when the snake was gone (/kxai) and questioned (tē) [the girl]. She said: "He [that is, the snake] will (nī) come right away (/ase)." Then he asked her: "Where (maba, with the personal suff.) does his (//(e)īb, personal pron., di gen. particle) strength (/gais) sit (≠nū)?" "In (ai) the forehead (!ūs) sits (≠nōe) his (ī, originally a vb.: "to belong"; now a poss. ending) strength," answered the girl.

[447] And when the snake came (hā, with the personal suff.) he transformed himself (gai, vb.) into an ant (≠goberu-b) and climbed (doë, "to wander," !aba "to climb up") upon his forehead and sucked (/gom) out (≠ui) his (ā, root of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the possessor) strength, took (pret. participle) the girl and went home (//aru).

d) Haitsiaibeb Myths

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776 Hai-tsiai-bena is the Hottentot name for the group of folk tales about a hero of former times, to whom, just a few decades

538 ago (66), they still erected grave mounds in remote districts (cf.
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66. Th. Hahn. *Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie* (Globus. Bd. XII, 1867).

"burial customs," p. 317) in the form of stone heaps upon which a passerby placed a stone or twig in the hope that he might be rewarded by finding a good path and water.

If the hypothesis should be confirmed that the Hottentots at a later date transplanted Haitsiaibeb to the sky as the moon (78), then the

78. Th. Hahn. *Die Sprache der Nama*. Leipzig, 1870.

moon myth (Folk tale XXX) would also have to be included in this group. The text that I heard narrated deviates from the one published by Th. Hahn in that the louse that is caught by the hare in his story is missing in mine.

Attempts have been made to interpret a legendary figure that the Hottentot calls *tsũ//goab* as an expression of an idea of God; Kroenlein (57) translates this supposed Hottentot god-concept as "the

57. J. G. Kroenlein. *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*. Berlin, 1889.

one who is difficult (*tsũ/*) to entreat (*//goa*)." According to my conviction such a derivation is linguistically inadmissible. For the first word stem, as I have convinced myself again and again, is not *tsũ/*, but rather *tsũʼ*, as it occurs in *tsuʼi·* "to wound." Older authors have indeed heard and written down not *tsũ//goab*, but *tsui//goab*. Since in the formation of compound words the accent that was characteristic of the single word is frequently lost in favor of the new word accent (see p. 362), it cannot be determined whether the second root of our word is *//goa-* "to entreat" or *//go-as* "knee." But according to all that is known about the meaning of *tsũʼ*, the latter interpretation is by far the most probable. I believe that in this point the missionary Kroenlein was a bad influence on the linguist Kroenlein, and on the basis of my

538
776 own text I concur with Th. Hahn's derivation, according to which tsu//goab signifies something like "wounded knee": the designation for a hero who is wounded in the knee in battle. It is quite another question whether this hero, as is suspected, is identical with the above-mentioned Haitsiaibeb.

In view of the great veneration that is paid to ancestors, it is understandable that the Hottentot swears by the name of "Wounded Knee": "tsū·ʔ//goa-ao !" [448] I have also often heard the exclamation of astonishment corresponding to our "my God!": "tsū·ʔ//goatse !"

In Folk tale XXXI there figures as an enemy of mankind a being that the Hottentots designated to me as "≠gā·ʔ≠gori·b because he is supposed at one time to have hurled (≠gori·) people head over heels abruptly ("≠gāʔ, vb.) down into a pit, until the jackal stopped his actions. The monster then arises from death and boasts of his immortality. But I suspect that the text published by Bleek (in which Haitsiaibeb figures as the savior and the immortal) is the older one and I therefore heard only vague memories of the now almost forgotten group of tales about Haitsiaibeb.

In tales I heard the "Hurler" himself called only "!U-ʔriseb's father." I ran into his proper name, however, once in a figure of speech by which a Hottentot was protesting about a hard jostling: "≠gā/≠goribits ga goma a ≠ha/mrihe !" "May you be knocked down by the Hurler!" (the final i in ≠goribits is equivalent to χa "by," -ts "you," ga is a potential particle, goma makes the curse a sort of commission to the monster, a is a present particle, "≠ha/m "to knock down," -ri means as much as "against" in "to bump against," he pass. particle).

[Text omitted]

x539

Translation of XXX

The Moon and the Hare

The moon (//khāb) sent (sī, probably in the narr. pass. see p. 392; χa demon. particle, i auxiliary vb.; verbal particle of the x539 pret.) the hare (!ōasa fem.) away: "Announce (mĩ "to speak," -ba stresses a relation to the obj.: "to report") to mankind (kχoi̇na, neut. pl.) that they should do (ẽ "and," imperative, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.) just as (kχɔmi) I (tita) do (hi, -ra verbal particle of progressive action), pass away (//ō) [and] reappear (!gā)." Thus (tumi) the hare was commissioned (sĩhe, here probably a true pass.).

And (0, with the fem. personal suff.) the hare [said]: "As my (ti) grandfather (//naob, respectful term for the moon) does (ta euphonious for ra), so [you, too] pass away and reappear (imperative). That is my commission (goma, interjection). When (0) he, however (tsĩ with personal suff.) spoke (mĩ) thus, then the boys [cried]: "What (tareē) are you (-s in tis) saying (ta euphonious for ra) there (ti "so, thus")?" Then said the hare (indicated by the s in os): "Just as I do--thus goes my commission--so [you, too] shall die goggle-eyed."*

> *The hare, therefore, intimidated by the boys who interrupt him, proclaims just the opposite of what the moon had ordered him: As the moon sets, so people were to die.

Then he goes home (//aru, vb.) and comes (sĩ) [to the moon]. And the moon questioned (tē) him (si, personal suff.); he, however, remained silent ("speaks" kχom "not" toma), well knowing (≠an, tsĩ verbal particle of the pret. participle) that (!kχaiē) he had (go, verbal particle of the pret.) lied (≠humi, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then the moon shattered (≠nau "to beat," ≠ari "to burst") [325] his mouth (ams).*

> *Ever since hares have had a "harelip" on their upper lip.

[Text omitted]

[450] Translation of XXXI

Uriseb's Father

Uriseb's father (ĩb) digs (kχao, narr. pass.) a pit (ãba) and has x539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kχoēna) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aēba) and throws (ao) them down (//nā) into (!na) the pit and sets (!kχā) them on fire (≠hubi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (0) a person comes (/kχī), he chases (!kχoē) after (ū) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -ī) round about (//namibe, vb.) the pit and shoves (≠hā) him down into (≠gā "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsē) the jackal came, after (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (≠kχau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiba) and had made himself wet (/ā /ā); and the two of them (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (≠kχanu) and fell (//nā) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kχau). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//ō) and comes to life again (!gā) and eats (≠ū) from the Nais bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kχõ) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Uriseb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nais bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Uriseb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

e) Animal Tales

538 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming
825 themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to
776 wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would
be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaũa·b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaũa·b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

538 whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The
825 being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he
776 would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not
538 lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with
825 the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII), in these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLIII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 one (the lion) [452] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so
825 in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little aro-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little steinbok (LVI), The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 gā·ǂtsi/ha·mabes, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it
825 is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

136 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this op-
538 portunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, ǂkχaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naĭb.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aũb.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kχans.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gũb.
Folk tale name, ǂhãeb.
6. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hāb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gai!gãba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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538 13. Canus mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal, /gīrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gã /haisetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ũsgyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ≠hĩras (specifically *≠nūbe ≠hĩras), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti !gã ≠gōbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kχamab, hunters' name: *≠gaihetoma·b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: *hoagye-!gã·hãkχoĭ sõab, that is "the son (õab) of the sister (!gãs, kχois, "woman") of all (hoa) [mankind] (gye and hã, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hõab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /harebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /ēb (specifically: *!uri/ēb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 285), !õas.

22. Papio porcarius (Boddaert), the baboon, /nērab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubais and hĩngatu·bus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: batsibab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, *gātsin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kχinas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala·migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

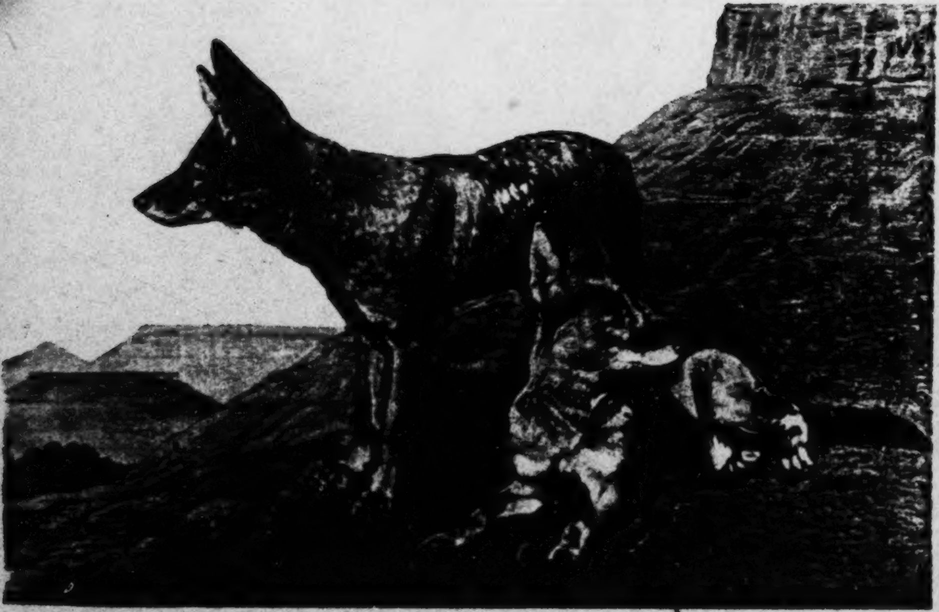
27. Gallus domesticus Boiss, domestic chicken, hūnors (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapulatus Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, *gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear
[825] extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also *go/ma-≠kχa·raseb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python *!ga·/nigyen!gū/b because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!ga/ni) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gū/b).

30. Psammophis notostictus, sand snake, sanugyeõ aseb.
31. Varanus spec.[1], iguana, !noˊna b, *//nareb in the Bergdamara dialect.
[455] 32. Agama spec. (A. atra Daud. or A. planiceps Peters). Aro lizard, !aro b.
33. A Lacertidae, related to a Scapteira, /gabestau b.
34. Pelomedusa glaeata (Schoepff), a tortoise that lives in slimy water and therefore smells bad. The general term for tortoise is //kχuri· b.
35. Batrachia anura of various species, insofar as they can be included within the general term "frog," //gū·ˊtsi//gū·ˊbes. [Fig. --Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gĩ· rib.]
36. Muscidae of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "fly," /gĩna· s.
37. Orthoptera of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "grasshopper," *≠nāˏ/!auˊs; because of their hopping movements the grasshoppers are compared to a girl who dances (≠nāˏ) and rages (*!auˊ).
[456] 38. Orthoptera from the families of the Hetrodidae and Stenopelmatidae; to the latter belongs the type of Maxentius called /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb, that is "glutton belly."
39. Coprophage Lamellicornier from the group Scarabaeinae, types of "dorbeetles." The dorbeetle is called χau· tsi//ga·ˏmabeb because of its burrowing movements in dung: he nestles up to the dung (χaub) exactly as one lies down at night (*//gaˏma·) close to the fire. The buzzing sound of his wings is compared in the tales to the bass of the reed pipes. In folk tales the dung beetle appears under the name ≠anagye≠gaieb.
(40.) Formicidae, ants, ≠goberu· gu.

[1] [German "der Leguan", In English more commonly called Monitor. —Analyst]



Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gī·rib.

[p. 459]

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[Text omitted]

[457] Translation of XXXII

The Jackal and the Hyena Who Take Away the Ants' Two Cows

The hyena and the jackal were tending (!ũi, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goana, neut. pl.). And they came (sī) to (doba) thorn trees (//kχūti) and looked for haira resin for themselves (hare). Then the hyena said: "Brother Pale, look (gō) after the cattle, won't you (re)." Then the jackal looks and says: "They are lying (//goë) together in the shade" (!haũ, vb.: the assembling of the cattle seeking shade in the hot hours of the day). Thus he said, although (χabe) the cattle had run away (bē, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) and continued*: "Sister Pointed Run, did you (-s fem. personal suff., after ≠aĩ "to think") have in mind what I had in mind?" And the hyena answered: "I had it in mind." Whereupon the jackal: "Let (hā) us (-m, derived from im, the suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.-fem.) then seek (õa) the cattle and (ẽ) go away to slaughter ([illegible]) * together (-gu)."

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*This dialogue (cf. Folk tale XXXV), in which two scoundrels, each with the same mischief in mind, cautiously sound each other out without, however, admitting their designs openly at first, is characteristic of the crafty character of the Hottentot.

*) ≠agu also has the meaning "to slaughter a roast for a wedding." The word is to be understood in this sense here also; the hyena's subsequent request for copulation is linked to it. In the legends the jackal always appears as a man and the hyena, with few exceptions (for instance in XXXIV where it figures as a stupid bridegroom) as a woman.

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Then the two of them went and found a white (!uri) and a black (≠nū) cow. Then the jackal said: "The white one is mine" (ti, stem of the 1st pers. of the personal pron., -sa adj. ending), and the hyena said: "The black one is mine"; then they slaughtered. Now the jackal put (≠nũi, narr. pass.) the hyena under (!gū, "to cover") the damp (/ā) hides* (kχōra, fem. dual), cooked (saĩ narr. pass.) [the meat out] and poured (tsoro, narr. pass.), after (tsĩ, verbal particle of the pret. participle after χorohe) he had dug (χoro, narr. pass.) a hole (āb), the pieces of fat (gauga, masc. pl.) into (!na) the [458] hole [in order to conceal them]. Then he gives (mā, narr. pass.) the hyena two little lean (/hai "pale, juiceless") pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -ro dimin., -ra dual fem.) and urine (/ūb). Then she said: "My Brother Pale, of (χa "from, of") what (*taeĩ = tareẽ) does the fat (//nũiẽ, neut. sing.) taste (tsã) this way?" (//nāti). Whereupon the jackal: "Oh (kχa) my sister, I (-ta) do not (toma) understand (//naũ "to hear," !ā "to explain clearly") what is wrong with the fat."

Now the jackal saw the ants (≠goberugu) coming up* and slipped

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*After he had persuaded her that she was sick and must therefore subject herself to the customary wrapping in hides (see the chapter on "Medicine," p. 223).

*In connection with the jackal and the hyena's cattle theft the Hottentots have introduced the figure of an Orthoptera that they call: /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb; when the ants noticed the theft, they assembled all able-bodied men for the pursuit. But the grasshopper [Fig. -- Maxcentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀ (Stenopelmetidae). 9/10ths natural size.] replied: "nēta ra hã tsĩ /gõan doba //hao dain χa ra ā !" "I will stay here and drink with my children the milk of the flower-time." (The time of the best

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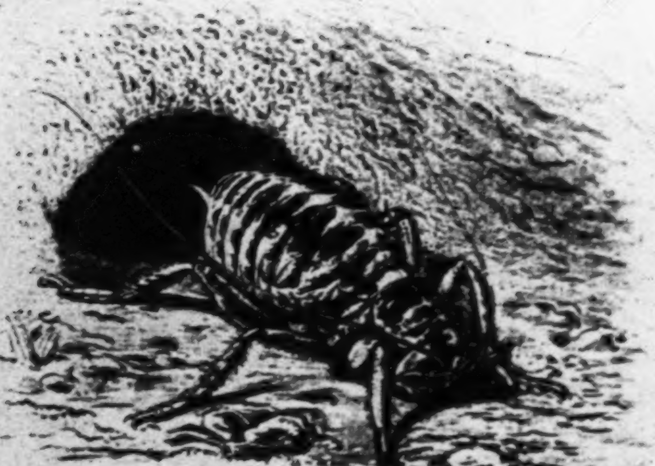

Maxentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀

[p.458]

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grazing). In the punishment for this she grew so tremendously fat that, as "glutton belly" (*/kχuni "to drink immoderately," //kχums "belly"), right to the present day she can only crawl laboriously in the sand (see illustration) or climb up the thorn tree.

(sī "to go," ≠gā "to go into") in the hole. Then they came and saw the hides of the two cows and beat (≠nau) the hyena (si, suff.) with (/kχa) sticks (haiti). Then she cried: "Brother Pale, To beat my body (/kχā) does me (te, suff.) no good (!gaī, [459] vb.), but you can (ga, particle of the potential, -ts masc. suff.) fertilize (χaē, carry out copulation) my body, indeed (o, interjection) I like that." Then she bit (nā) a hole (//hūsa) through (//hū "to make a hole through") [the hides] and saw now that (!kχaiē) it was (literally: "are" a) the ants and ran away (//hai-nī).

But the jackal scratched himself (!hari "to undo something," -sen refl. particle) on the rasenki bush (*≠aros), and when (o) the hyena hurried by (ī, vb. with personal suff.), he called (≠gai) her and she came. Whereupon the jackal: "Yes (gum - - - o), I (tita, pron.) too (tsī "and," with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) have been beaten." So he said after (-tsī, particle of the pret. participle after mū "eyes") he had rubbed (≠χoro) his eyes with saliva (≠āba).*

Then the two of them (//(e)īra, pron. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.-fem.) went and ran (hō) across horses (hāna, neut. pl.). And the jackal tied up (*≠nūi !ao, "to set the neck") the young (≠kχam) horse with a thong (!haūb) while it lay there (//goē) and slept (//om, with the rare suff. of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. -mi) and packed (!gaī "to tie," ≠nūi "to set") the hyena on it. But he himself (//(e)ība, personal pron.) caught (!kχō) the big (gai) horse and said to the hyena: "You (sasa, pron.) ride (!gabi) to a place (ū "along") where no people (kχoīn, neut. pl.) are (in Hottentot the relative sentence is expressed substantively by /kχaīa "nothing," with the attached suff. of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. -ba). Let (ē) (-ta, suff. and tita pron.)

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*In order to simulate tears.

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ride where people are." (Likewise substantively expressed by attaching the personal suff. to the vb. hã "to be"). Thus he spoke and ran away. But the hyena was deposited (literally: "came" sī, "with" ū, "jumped" uri, "has been" -he, pass.) by (χa) the young horse in the horse kraal (!harab). Then she was caught and beaten and chased away ("told" gaihe, "to go").

[Text omitted]

[460] Translation of XXXIII

The Hyena and the Jackal Jump after the Clouds

Once (hĩa) when the hyena and the jackal, the two of them (tsĩra), were in (!na) the field (!aub), clouds (/namga) appeared (//hao). Then the jackal said: "Sister Pointed Run (see page 454), there (//nĩ, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the masc. pl.) some balls of fat (gauga, masc. pl.) have appeared (/kχĩ), so (ʼhũgye, with the personal suff. -m, 1st pers. dual masc.-fem) let us jump (uri) after them (!gã) !" So he said and continued: "I (tita, pron.) will (nĩ) jump first (aibe), and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the addressed pers.) you catch (≠hē) me (te, suff.) nicely (ẽχase, adv.), for (≠ũigye) then I will catch you nicely."

Then he jumped and she caught him well. Then the hyena jumped. But when (//goasi) she came down (hā) the jackal cried: "Alas, (/ĩ, interjection) wait! (//nam) a thorn (//kχũĩ, neut, sing.) has stabbed (!kχā) me, therefore [wait]." Then the hyena fell (//nã) to the ground and sprained (!oē) her hip joint (/gobus).

Since that day (tsēs) the hyena has been lame* (/garusa, adjective, /nũsa "leg").

[825]

*If one follows the tracks of a fleeing hyena, one occasionally sees that the animal has scarcely touched the ground with its left hind foot. Instead of a track only a light scratch is to be seen in the sand. The folk tale proceeds from this observation.

[Text omitted]

[461]

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Translation of XXXIV

When the Hyena Got Married

The hyena had wooed (≠gan, in the narr. pass. like the following pred.) a girl (/gõasa), and when (o) he had completed (toa) the wooing successfully, he sought (õa) cows (gomate) in order to (nĩ, fut. particle with the personal suff. of the obj.) slaughter them for the wedding (literally: "cows that he, for the wedding slaughtering, !gũ≠a, would take" u̇). And while (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis -kχa, dual masc.) he came along with (/kχa) the cows, he met the jackal (literally: "the two met together" /hao). "Where (ma/ĩ, with the personal suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. masc.) are you (-ts) wandering (garu) with (u̇) the cattle?" (neut. pl.) [asked the jackal]. "For (*!gao, with the personal suff. of the subj. -ta, "I") my (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ta personal suff. of the possessor, -b personal suff. of possession) wedding (!gameb) [to fix up everything], indeed (gumo), for that reason I am wandering with the cows," he replied. Then the jackal asked (tẽ) thus (tumi): "And will they all (hoa) six (!nani, with the personal suff.) be slaughtered?" and he answered (!eream): "Yes," (a). Whereupon the jackal: "I will go (!gũng) [along] and eat some of (χa) the wedding-slaughter cattle." ("to come" si, "to eat" ō). Then the two of them went.

And near (/gũne) the kraal (//gaũs) they went to sleep (//om), and when morning (//goas) came (//goa), the jackal stuck (maĩ) a [little peg of] wood (haisa) between (//aĩgu) his [462] toenails*

*In order to pretend that he had stepped on a thorn and was now lame.

(//goro, the suff. is missing) and said: "Well (gum - - - o), now (*nẽsirisa) I cannot (//oa, vb.) walk," and continued: "The living (ũitsaba) shall (nĩ) carry pickaback (aba) that which (-ẽ, personal suff. neut. sing.) is (hã) dead (//õ) !" Then the hyena said: "Come (hã), hop on."*

*The jackal has the hyena carry him pickaback.

x537 Whereupon the jackal: "Oh (o), if only (kxa) I could (re, optative particle) make (di) [myself] some stirrups (ǂā "to step," ǂnui "to set," connected to the substantive by the personal suff., here the neut. pl. -n, xa, demon. particle with the personal suff. of the subj.)." And the other replied: "Well, then make yourself some." (//naī). And [after a while] the jackal said: "Oh, if only I could make myself some reins (!haūn)." -- "Well, then make yourself some," the other replied. And the jackal asked further: "Oh, if only I could make myself a whip (!nabaṭ, neut. sing.)." --"Then make yourself one," the other replied. Then the two of them went.

And they arrived. But when (o) they arrived, the jackal beat (/ham), the hyena (expressed by the personal suff. -bi) on both sides (/kxākxa, dual). Then he [the hyena] fled (!kxoē bi), and while he hastened away, the jackal leaped (uri) off and said [to the hyena's bride]: "Did you (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing.) see (mū) that you (saaa, pron.) were just about (ra, particle of progressive action) to marry my father's (dābab, di gen. particle) horse (hāb), which (expressed temporally by hīa) had run away in (!na) the pasture (//hoab)?"

And the jackal married the girl.

[Text omitted]

[463] Translation of XXXV

The Jackal and the Hyena That Killed Their Mothers

The jackal and the hyena both (ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) lived (hā, narr. past.) with (/kxa) their mothers (//gūra, dual fem.). And the mothers stole (!nari) two cows (gomara). When (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -ra) they then slaughtered (ǂā) together (indicated by -n, personal suff. of the neut. pl.), [the children] thought (ǂai, ti "thus") they would get (hi) only a little (ǂkxari, -se adverbial ending, -ra dual), and when the mothers went away (expressed by the ti ra go hī o that that follows; that is, "when they had done thus") -- the hyena (ǂnaua "the other one") to seek (/aire) firewood and the jackal to fetch (//gama) water -- they made a plan (/ahe, vb.): "Sister

Pointed Run, did you (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem. in ≠aīs) by any chance (ga) have in mind what (-ī, neut. sing.) I (tita) had in mind?" Thus the jackal asked, and the hyena replied: "I had it in mind, Brother Pale." Whereupon the jackal: "Go (!gūng) you (sasa, fem.) with your mother (saos) and (ẽ, with the pers. suff. of the addressed 2nd pers.) kill (!gam) her (si, pers. suff.), and (with the suff. of the pers. speaking) I will go with my mother (ais) and kill her, and (with the suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.-fem.) we will eat (ō) the meat (//gana) alone (/guri)." Then they went off with (ū) their mothers.

And the hyena went and killed her mother, but the jackal went and brought his mother to safety (sau̅, vb.), and each time when (gõse) he fetched (ta, euphonious for ra) water, he came (hā) and brought (mā) her fat (gauga, masc. pl.). But one day (/gui tsẽ) the hyena fetched water, and the mother jackal came because (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) she thought it was her (//(e)īs, pers. pron. used as a poss. by adding the gen. particle) child (oab), hastily (!khoe, vb.) forth (≠hagu, vb.). Then the hyena killed the mother jackal and went home (//aro, vb.).

[464] And while (hīa, with the pers. suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) the hyena was coming, the jackal appeared (/khī) and likewise (//khāba, "again") went to the water and came to (ai) the place (!khaib) where she lay (//goe) dead (//ō, with pers. suff.). And he cried (≠gai) "Mother!" and because (≠naio) the hyena had been there he said (pret. participle) to himself: "The hyena [did this]!" left (≠hu) the dishes (≠abaga) there and hastened up and away (≠ora) toward home.

And he cried (ā) secretly (/ā, "to steal"). But the hyena said: "Brother Pale, why (tare? "what," -ba "for") are you crying?" (-tsa, masc. suff.) and laughed (aī). Then he took (ū, pret. participle) a stone (/uiba), went (ī) behind (*!gāb ai) the hut (oms) and hurled (*≠gabe) the stone at her head* (*!kra ≠ !ōa *!khoe-aī).

*Ever since the hyena has had a broad flat forehead.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XXXVI

The Jackal Who Lies Down Beside the Wagon Road

The hyena and the jackal, the two of them (tsī "and," -ra pers. suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) live (//an, narr. pass.) alone (/guri). And when (o) [465] two (/gam) wagons (gunira, dual fem.) came along (hā), the jackal hurried (!kχoē, narr. pass.) ahead (ais ai) and goes (ii) to lie down (//goē, narr. pass.) beside (from χōb "cheek") the wagon road (doob). Then the two wagons came (/kχī); and the wagon that was in front went by (gũng ĩ), but the wagon that was in back (/kχaos ai) saw (mũ) [him]. Then [the wagon owner] cried: "Give (mā) me (te, suff.) the gun (!abusa)! The whip (samiba) give me! The hammer (borrowed from Cape Dutch) give me!" Thus he yelled and picked (ū) [the jackal] up (kχaī) and loaded (!nao) him on. The latter, however, shoved (shuttling with his rear leg, ǂnā //na) the fat (//nuib) barrel (swasa, a garbled form borrowed from Cape Dutch) out and the sugar (suiker, from Cape Dutch) sack (//hōs) both of them, and went back (oa).

Then he took little (ǂkχari) scraps (χūb "thing," -ro dimin.) in (!na) his hand (!omi) and went to give them to the hyena. Then the latter said: "My (ti) brother (!gāb) Pale (haiseb "the pale one"), where (maba) did you (-ts, suff.) find (hō) the stuff (χūē, neut. sing.)?" Whereupon the former: "There (//nā) where the wagons go (garu)--run there quickly (!kχoē "to hasten," !gũng "to go") and (ē, with the pers. suff. of the subj.) go ahead (ai !ā) along the road! And even if (ga, particle of the potential) the hammer is asked for (ǂgan), lie [still] nevertheless (χabe)! Even if the whip is asked for, lie still! Even if the gun is asked for, lie still! And when (o) you are loaded on, shove the sugar sack out, just as (kχomi) I (tita, pron.) did (hī)." Then the hyena hurried away and went to lie down. Then the men (kχoēga, "people" in the masc. pl.) cried: "Give me the whip, the hammer, the gun!" Then she ran away (!kχoē-aī) and comes [back]. Whereupon the jackal: "Did you shove [the sack] out?" Thus (tumi) he asked (tē), but the latter said: "When the gun was asked for, I ran (//hai. The ai expresses, here just as above, an expectation, namely that of pursuit) away." Whereupon the other: "You (-so, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) will die (//ō) of stupidity (gā), truly (gomo)!"

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[Text omitted]

[466] Translation of XXXVII

The Jackal Who Taught the Leopard's Children

The jackal was teaching (//kχâ //kχô, narr. pass. If one wishes to assume that this is a case of the true passive, then χa must be interpreted as a post positive "by.") the leopard's children (ōana, neut. pl.). But when (o) they (-n in ūhen) had been brought (hâ "to come," ūhe "to be taken") [to him], he cut the throat of one (/gui-) of the little children (ro dimin., -e pers. suff. in the neut. sing.). (The following forms have merged to a verb with the ending of the narr. pass.: !gao "to cut," χa "through," domi "throat")

Then the leopard came (/khō) and asked (teĩ): "How (mati) are you (-ma, suff.) teaching the children (/gōana)?" Thus (tumi) he asked. But the jackal said: "No, uncle,* the children are learning

*The form Ohn is borrowed from Cape Dutch.
The jackal regards the leopard's question as a
sign of distrust and counters it.

("to teach," with the refl. particle -sen) very (gaise) well (!gaĩse)." Then [the leopard] went [467] home (//aru, vb.), and when he had gone home, the jackal once again (//kχaba) cut one of their throats.

And the leopard came again and said: "I have come to see the children." So he said. But the jackal replied: "No (hm'm), now (nū sirias) they will not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) come out (hoeχa)!" Then the leopard asked: "Why (tare! !ama) shouldn't they come out?" But he [answers]: "The children are learning very well, don't (tā • toma) disturb (ahaai) [them]."

Then he believed (dgom) [it] and went home. Then when he came back again, in the meantime (hĩa) all (hoa, -ro dimin., -n pers. suff. of the neut. pl.) of the children had been eaten up; only a single child (/guirob /guir) was left (hā). And [again] the leopard said: "I [want] to see (mū) the children!" Then the jackal showed (//gau, narr. pass.) the single one; but the other thinks (gaĩ, ti "so") [that it is] all of them and went home. And when he had gone home, the jackal ate up the single one that was left (!gau hā).

[537] And the leopard came once again but when [the jackal] saw him coming (!goatza), he said [to his mate]: "When (o, with the pers. suff. of the subj., -s, in the apodosis) the leopard indeed (ga, verbal particle of the potential) comes, you must (nī) pinch (//kχī) a child." Then let me ("let" ī, "so that I" -ta) ask: 'For what (taeē : taroē "what?" -ba objectifying verbal particle) is the child yelling (ā)?' And (ē, with suff.) then you say: 'It is yelling for leopard meat' (//gaaē, neut. sing.)." And the leopard came, and when she pinched the child, the child yelled. Then the jackal asked: "What is the child yelling for?" And she answered: "It is yelling for leopard meat."

Then the leopard ran away (//hai-nī) and went (ai) to urge (//kχau) the baboon (/nĕraba) [to go with him], and the two of them (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) arrived. But the morning sun casts dark shadows (literally: "the early shadow" //gaa somi, "makes" dī, "shadows"). "Don't you (-kχo, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc.) see (mū) the six (!nani) leopard skins (kχōgu) lying there (//nā)?" [the jackal said]. Then the leopard fled, ran away (hē), while the baboon cries (mī, ti "thus," with the pers. suff. of the subj.): "Wait! Wait!" (//nam).

[Text omitted]

[468] Translation of XXXVIII

The Jackal and the Baboon

The jackal and the baboon were debtor and creditor. ("sur(u)tegu, narr. pass., "stand in a relation of debt to each other." The context reveals how this is to be interpreted in detail.) But when (o) the baboon came (/kχī) to seek out (ōa) the debtor (sur(u)taba), the jackal (expressed by the -b after o at the beginning of the sentence) sat down (ōnū, narr. pass.) in front of (ams ai) the hut (oms) and made a big (gai) knife (gōaba) sharp ("/ātsiama vb., narr. pass., /ā "to be sharp," -tsi adjective-forming ending, am "mouth, blade of an ax, knife, etc."). Meanwhile the baboon appeared and came (hā) up to dun (ōgan) the debtor. Then the jackal said: "We (-kχum, suff. of the 1st pers. masc. dual) don't know each other." (/ō "not to know," -gu refl. particle)

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Then the baboon (I heard the term /nèraba only from old people; the younger ones all say /néraba) was afraid (!ao) and went (!gũng) away and came (sĩ) to (doba) the wildcat (/hõab) and said: "The jackal there (nẽ, demon. root) whets a knife when (o) I ask about the debt." [469] Whereupon the cat: "He is only pretending (ǂhumi "to lie") that (//au). The High Supreme Dung Chief! (literally: "the unique turd," ~~[illegible]~~ /guisa). That is just like him! (Ī "to be like," -b pers. suff.). So (ǂũigye) come on, let (ẽ) us go." So she said, and the two of them went and got there. But again (//kxaba) the baboon was not prepared for the sight ("had not" toma "provided" mũ "himself" -sen, refl. particle, "for this," with the objectifying particle -ba) and ran away (//hai-nĩ).

Then the cat called (ǂgai) to him again: "The jackal is lying; he will do (dĩ) nothing (tĩŝ "something," tite particle of the fut. negative) to you (tsi, suff.); so come, let's tie our tails (ǂarekha, dual masc.) together," (//are "to unite," !gai "to bind"). So she said and they came there. But the jackal leaped (ǂham) at both of them (kxã, suff., in the dat. acc. case) with the knife.

Then the baboon fled while (hĩa) the cat cried (mĩ, ta ǂ ra, ti "thus," with the pers. suff. of the subj.) "wait!" (//nam). And when (o) she wanted to hold onto (!kxõbasen) herself to (ai) the bushes (haitĩ), he pulled (!hum) her out (ǂui) along with the bushes. Then finally the baboon stopped (/ũ, vb.) running, and the cat said: "Come, let's go back (oa), the jackal is pretending, believe (ǂgum) me, won't you!" (e, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) But the baboon refused (ǂkxã) and did not go back.*

[325] *Here, too, the Hottentot sets up a causal relationship between the tale and the animal--one which is so well known to the natives that the narrator no longer stresses it: when the two animals unknotted their tails again after their wild flight, it turned out that the baboon's tail was bent. As punishment for his cowardice it has remained that way ever since; see the illustration on p. 288.

[Text omitted]

[470] Translation of XXXIX

The Jackal Who Sells a Horse to the Boers

The jackal sold (//amaxu, narr. pass.) to (doba) the Boers (bùrgu) a horse (hâbe) and first (aibe) stuck (ǂgã) money (marina, neut. pl.) into (!na) the anus (tnoas) of the (di, gen. particle) horse and brought (sî "to come," û "to take," narr. pass.) it and said (mî, narr. pass.): "Now (ǂnâ sirisa) will (nî) I (-ta, suff.) get (hò) money there (//nâ) from (xu) the horse." And when (o) the horse excreted (ao), he held his hand underneath (xaba, narr. pass.), and the horse excreted money.

But when (o) the two (-kxa, suff. of the masc. dual) Boers spoke (!hoa) about the price (/gaus) of the horse, the jackal said: "I won't (toma) set (ǂnûi) a price because (ao) I am not selling the horse. [471] But any (hoa, with the suff. of the neut. sing.) man (aoi, neut. sing.) who wanted (ga, verbal particle of the potential) to buy (//ama) [it], would give (mâ) me (te, suff.) a wagon (gunisa) with (/kxa) the oxen (gomagu) that go with it (//(e)îs, pers. pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem., used in the sense of the possessive pron. with the gen. particle omitted)."

Then the Boer gave him (bi, suff.) a wagon with oxen. And the jackal hitched up (ǂgaé !ao) and said: "Boer! The horse waits (hã) three (!nona) days (tsèti), then it excretes [money]." Then the jackal said and drove (!nari) off.

But the two Boers waited (!ã), when (o) the three days had passed (î), until (//ga) the fourth (haga //(e)î) day, but the horse excreted no money and excreted only (/gui with suff.) grass (/gâb). Then the two of them saddled (ǂgaé!gã) up and chased (!khoè) after (!gau) [the jackal]. And they came (sî) to a kraal (//gaus), to one that lay (ǂnôa, with pass. suff.) on (am !na) the way (daob), and asked (tē): "Where (mabe, with the pers. suff. of the subj.) is the wagon that came by here (nêbe)?" "Day before yesterday (ai tsē) it went by," so it was said (mî "to say").

Then they rode (!gabi) along and came again to a kraal and asked: "Where is the wagon that came past here?" To this the people (-n pers. suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut.) said: "Yesterday (//ari) it came by." Then they rode along and came along to a kraal and asked: "Where is the wagon that came past here?" To this the people replied: "Today ("this" nē, "day" tsēb) it came past."

Then they rode along; and when (hīa) the jackal had been [home for a long time], they came and cried: "Uncle Fox (borrowed from Cape Dutch), I will shoot (≠noa) your (–tsi, suff.) head (!ūs) in!"

To which the other: "For (ai) what sort of a (mā) crime (/habiť, neut. sing.) are you (–tsa, suff.) going to shoot my head in?" So he asked.

Whereupon the Boer: "You (sats, personal pron. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) told me, didn't you (gum--o), that the horse, that excreted no money, would excrete money!"

But the jackal said: "No (hm'm), once and for all (!hoz̈ horaē) do not (tā ≠ toma) talk this way (//nāti) with (ū) me! My (ti) older (gaib "big") brother (!gāb) does business (//ama "to buy," –gu reciprocal particle) with both of you." (sago, pron. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.)

[472] Then the Boers (literally: "the two others" *naukʐa asked: "Where is he?" And the jackal said: "He lives (//an) [farther] down (//gona) there (nāba)." Then the two of them rode off and went to shoot (≠noa !an) the jackal who was not guilty.

[Translator's note: In the Hottentot text of Legend XL the following remarks are inserted in German by the author:]

This questioning of the jackal is now repeated two or three times by the narrator in order to make it impressive. Then there follows

Question and answer as before. Then he demands the same thing of the jackal. Thereupon:

Question, answer and demand as before. Then:

Urgent repetition of the questioning. Then again:

Translation of XL

The Jackal Who Licks Out the People's Pot

The jackal (/girib) came (/kū) from (ʐu) his (//(e)ī b, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., used as a poss. pron. before the following substantive) kraal (//gaūs) to (!na) the hut (oms) of men (kaoʐu) and [473] (tsī) came (hā) in (≠gā, vb.) and licked out (tom)

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the fat-pot (//gubusa) of the people. But the people came back while (hĩa) the jackal was still (hã "to remain") at (doba) the hut. Then the man (aoba) of the hut asked (tẽ): "Of which (mã) district (!ãb) are you the jackal?" (-tsa personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nominative)* Then the jackal answered (!eream): "I (-ta) [am] the jackal from the arobush district. [The fruit] of the aro tree (-na, ending of the neut. pl.) I eat (≠ũna), from the hari bush I eat, from the au bush I eat, yes indeed (gumo)!"*

[193] *The word *tumi "so," which is frequently attached to direct discourse, has merely the function of summing up, in contrast to the conjunction goma, which has an imperative sense. "Mã !ab gũritsa goma" would mean: "Where do you come from? Answer! That's my command."

5

[137] *The *≠a·ros bush is Zisyphus mucronatus Willd. (Rhannaceae). *≠hari·s is Royena pallens Thbg. (Ebenaceae). ≠aũ·s is Grewia flava D.C. (Tiliaceae). The jackal lives indeed from the berrylike fruit of these bushes, among other things.

Repteition. Then:

Thereupon the man said (mĩ): "let (ẽ, imperative particle) me (-ta) see (gõ) you (-tai) excrete (≠au)." Thus (ti) he says. Then the jackal excreted aroberries. And the man asked again:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted hari berries. Then the man asked:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted au berries and [again] the man asked: "Of what place are you the jackal?" And the jackal answered: "I am the jackal of the aro district. I eat aro berries, I eat hari berries, I eat au berries, yes indeed!"

Repetition. Then:

And the man said: "Let me see you excrete." Then the jackal excretes fat, and the man caught (!kō) him (bi). But the jackal cried: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob), hold me differently." (!kō "to seize," unu "to turn around," !gã "backwards"). And the man seized him differently. Then the jackal got away (ui) and says: "Yes (mo = gumu), that's the kind of guy I am." (Literally: "such" //nā, "a child" /goa- "I resemble" ĩ).

[474] [Text omitted]

[475] Translation of LI

The Jackal and the Porcupine Who Both Dig Water for the Teacher (Missionary)

The jackal and the porcupine (!noab), the two of them (tsĩ "and," kχa personal suff. of the dual masc.) were digging (χora, narr. pass.) water (//gamsa), and when the time (//aēb) came (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ) to go home (//aru), the jackal got himself (-sen, refl. particle) all wet (/hari) in the (!na) mud (≠goab) and told (gai, narr. pass.) the porcupine to wash (//ā). Then when (o) the two of them arrive (sĩ), a small(≠kχari) dish (!ores, -ro dimin.) is poured out (hora "to take cooked food out of the cooking pot") for the porcupine and the jackal's portion is put into a wash basin.*

> *Because the jackal, who has traces of work on his body, is considered to be the diligent worker, and the porcupine the lazy one.

But one (/gui) day (tsē), when (o) the two of them had gone (!gũng) to work (sĩsen), the teacher (//kχā//kχā "to teach," aob "man," the missionary") went [after them] without (toma "not," "hāse, adv. formed from hā "to be, to remain") their seeing (mũ) it. And they got there. Then the porcupine climbed (//gõa) down [into the water hole], but the jackal lay (//goē) down and slept (//om). And when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) it was time to go home, the porcupine came out (≠oaχa, vb.) and woke ([illegible]) the jackal. But all (hoana, neut. pl.) this the teacher observed (≠noa "to sit," mũ "to see") there (//nā). Then [the jackal] told the porcupine to wash, but he himself (//(e)ĩba, personal pron.) got all wet in the mud. And the two of them got there. [This time] the porcupine was served in the big (gai) bowl, and the jackal got his in the porcupine's little dish. Then [the jackal] said: "You (-ts, suff.) have misunderstood (//naũ "to hear," sā "to do something incorrectly"): you were told to give (mā) me (tita, personal pron. [the big bowl]." The [476] porcupine, however, replied: "The teacher* gave me the bowl."

Then the two of them went to work, and whey they came to the (doba) water the jackal said: "Hey there! (*tsĩ "and," -go suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.; tsĩgo is a careless form of address much like nētse), let (hā) us (-kχum, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) bathe (//āsen)! Let (ē) us put on (!gai) white (!uri) cloths (!kχaikχa, dual masc.) in front (ai) and jump (uri) into this (nē) water." Then first (ai "to be first") he tied [the cloth on] the porcupine, and when (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after toa "to cease") he had finished tying it, he took (ū) a stone (/uiba) and [said]: "Porcupine, I jumped so (*hũgye) jump!" So he said and threw (ao) the stone down (//nā "to fall," in the narr. pass.). -- The porcupine jumps in, assuming that the jackal had jumped ahead of him, and drowns. --

Then the jackal [rejoices] *: "The porcupine has drowned (*//gam //ō)! The calves (tsaũn) have sucked (dai) milk. The wagons (guniti) have driven (!nari) by themselves (sen, refl. particle). The huts (omgu) are set (*hubi) on fire." So he cried and fled (!kχoē "to hasten," bē "to go away," in the narr. pass.).

But the lion (χama, euphonious for -mi) was lying in wait (*//goē am) for him. Then [the jackal] came (/kχī, narr. pass.) [to his hut] and cried*

*This is probably one of the few cases in which the old form of the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. -bi has been preserved. The i has been lost and, otherwise, in the Nama language, is retained only in the masculine nouns in which there is an m in place of the b: //gami χami, etc. (cf. Th. Hahn (78), p. 62). Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig 1870.

*The following is to be interpreted as high-spirited nonsense.

*The jackal suspects that the lion is lying in wait for him. He speculates on the lion's

> simplemindedness by calling loudly and then, in a feigned monologue, makes his approach contingent upon an answer, by which the lion then indeed betrays himself.

"My house!" (Borrowed from Cape Dutch). But it is (i, gye, a) quiet (!nōsa). Then he said: "I (-ta, suff.) will keep quiet (!hoa "to speak," tite "particle of the fut. negative); that (nēē, demon. pron. in the neut. sing.) is something (ǂgũi "thing," neut. sing.), that my (ti) hut (oms) does not answer (oē). I will just call (ǂgai) this one (/guisa) [more] time (!nās)." So said and called again. Then the lion cried: "Yes (hē)!" [Whereupon the jackal:] "Have you ever heard or seen (literally: "Do you hear" //naũ "and see, since" o "you were born" !naē), that (!kχaiē) a hut answers?" So he said and ran away (//hai-nī).

[477] But the teacher was putting up (maī, narr. pass.) lime twigs (ǂaēba "lime") in his garden (!hanab), and the jackal came in, and while he is coming in (ǂgā garu), he caught himself (!kχōbosen) in the bird lime and is held by (ǂā) the bird lime." Then the jackal said: "What (taeē = tareē)

> "In the dark the jackal believes that he is being held by a person, and he tries to outwit this person by exchanging rôles: he pretends to be the one who is doing the holding and questioning.

are you (-tsa, suff.) doing (dī) in the garden? Let me (te, suff.) loose (//nā "to let," ǂu "to desist"), you (-tse, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., vocative), let me (-ta) go (!gũng)!" So he said, but was not freed nevertheless (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then he continued: "Just wait (//nam), comrade (aob is the familiar form of address of two coevals who have grown up together; see page 315), let me go (ǂoa) to [illegible] (ǂgai), I will come right back (/ase), so [let me go]!" But he was not released; meanwhile (hĩa, with personal suff.) the morning (//goaa) came (//goa). Then the teacher came and steps up (hā) to take him out (tā //nā) [of the lime twigs], and takes (goes to take) him to the kraal and asked (tē) him how (mati) he should (nī, !kχaiē particle of indirect discourse) kill (!gam) him. But he said: "Slaughter (ǂā) a fat (gauna) wether (gũba) and (ē, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) give me the fat drippings (//nniba) to drink (ā "to drink"; si gives the vb. a causative force: "to give to drink") and pack (!gaē) the fat (gauna) on me and rub

(/ā /ā "to make wet") my tail (≠areba) with fat (≠hoau) and seek (õa) here (nēba, with suff.) a man (kχoeba) out (≠ui), of whom you know (≠an, tumi "so") that he is (the fut. particle ni here corresponds to our "in all probability") strong (/gaisa), and let him (-b in ẽb) wrap (tami) [my] tail in [his] hand (!umi) and hurl (≠ẽ "to throw down"; ≠an "to beat") me on (ai) the rock basin (!haos, see p. 162) that is lying (≠nõa) there (//nā)." So he said.

And the teacher, just as (kχumi) the jackal had said, sought out a strong man and ordered him to hurl [the jackal] to the ground. And he hurled.---The greased tail slips from his hands.--Then the jackal stood (mã) on (≠ama) both (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) feet (≠aira) and said: "Here the boy is (/gõab, [478] "son"), yes indeed!" and ran away. But the men saddled ("!gaē "to pack on," !gāb "back") horses (hãga, masc. pl.) and chased after [him]. But the jackal went down (//gõa, narr. pass. and pret. participle) into a wadi (!āb) and picked (ũ, in the same construction as //gõa) flowers (blomga, masc. plural, borrowed from Cape Dutch) and went toward (!oa, narr. pass.) the men. Then the men cried: "That's the jackal!" But he said: "Which (mã) jackal? Don't you (-go, suff.) see that (!kχais) I come from (χu) the flower land (!hub)?" Then they believed (≠gom) [it] and sought [farther] and found no one ("not").

But he came [home and lived on (hã "to remain") just as he had lived formerly (hũga).

[Text omitted]

[479] Translation of XLI

The "Dwarf" [Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.)] and the Jackal

With the jackal and the dwarf it happened (dīhe "was made") like this: When (o. The o at the beginning of the sentence is a copulative verb.) the jackal (-i, an old and rarely used demon. suff.) had found (hō, narr. pass.) a snake (/aob), he went to the dwarf and said: "Dwarf, reveal (mĩ "to say," -ba objectifying verbal particle) to me (te, suff.), won't you (go), in (ũ "with") what way (gaus) you (sats, pron., strengthened by the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. -tsi = tse) kill (!gam) snakes (neut. pl.)."

[480] Then the dwarf went (!gung) with him (bi, suff.) and showed ("went" tĩ, "to show" //gau) him the neck vertebra.* And when (hĩa)

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*According to legend the dwarf sticks his head through the atlas, //gurusa, of an ox or a horse,

> attacks the snake and, at the moment when it strikes, twists it head in such a way that the snake bites the bone. When it has lost its poison in this way, it is bitten to death by the dwarf.

the vertebra (expressed by the personal suff. -s after ≠kxā, "to refuse." Ta euphonious for ra.) did not want [to let itself be put on], he pressed (//gaī) [it] in (≠gā "to stick in") and killed the snake. And when (o) he had finished (toa "to cease," with personal suff.) killing the snake, [he tried] to slip off (≠ui "out," ū "to take") the joint, but (xabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) it did not (toma) come loose (≠oaxa "to come out").

Then the jackal said: "Comrade (aob, see p. 315), roast (am) you (-tse, suff.) the snake there (nēba), for (xuigye) I (ta, suff.) am going (i) [off for a minute]*." And while (hīa, with the personal suff. of the

> *The jackal is ashamed of the constricting position that he has gotten into through his own meddling; he tries secretly to remove the vertebra and to deceive the dwarf, who catches him in his desperate exertions.

subj.) he stands there (mā, preterite participle) with his head bent forward (≠ubi, a vb. that designates this position) and beats (≠noa !gā) [against the joint with his fists], the dwarf unexpectedly (/kxā "to appear," hā "to come") steps up behind (!gāba ū) him and gives him a shove (tsa /kxa). Then he leaped (uri) up (kxai "to get up," narr. pass.) startled (!huri, hāse, adverb expressing a condition) and said: "Well (ae, interjection), you (-ts) have (ū "to take"), I suppose (gā, verbal particle of the potential), still (noxoba, perhaps borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated) childish pranks (//ore "to make fun of," xūna with the personal suff. of the addressed pers. or things, di gen. particle, ≠kxamsis "youth") in your head."

But the dwarf replied: "You are dying (//ō), so (hūgye) I would like (re, optative particle) to help (hui) you (tsi, suff.)."

Whereupon the jackal: "You (sa---go) idiots (gāre, adj.) think (≠ai) so! (ti, with the personal suff. of the one pers. addressed). If (o) I only wanted to ≠gao), then I could nī, future) indeed (gam---o) remove this vertebra thing (neut. sing.) after all (xabe)." So he said and continued: "Go and (ē) see (sī "go," gō "to see") whether (!kxaie) the snake isn't done (//an, vb.)."

[481] And when the dwarf had gone, he jumped into (!na) the water (//gams) and tried (tsã, narr. pass.) to remove (≠gai) [the vertebra]. But when it did not come loose (≠oaχa, see above. i "to go"), he ran away.

And he came to (ai) the kraal (//gaũs) of the hyena and said: "See (gum---o, "yes"), the dwarf told (gai, "to cause") me to put my head (tanas) into the vertebra (expressed just the other way around in Hottentot), and now the vertebra won't come loose." But while he talked this way, the dwarf came and said: "Jackal, do not (tĩ = toma) lie (≠humi) that way (//nãti)." Then he got up and went away.

And he came to (doba) the kraal of the silver jackal and said: "Uncle, please remove (//nã, vb. with the objectifying particle -ba) from me (te, suff., with the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -e = ĩ in //goreĩ, which as it were substantivizes the construction) this (ne) vertebra thing with (ũ) which the dwarf has deceived (gã) me!" But while he spoke thus, the dwarf came and said: "Jackal, don't lie like that." But he replied*:

> *In order to cut off any further explanation
> that might make him look rediculous.

"Oh my (o and kχa, interjections), our (ã, root of the poss. pron., with the personal suff. of the possessors, here in the dual masc.) affairs (χũna) there (ʼnauba = //nãba, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) are in a mess (/garu "to be out of joint." -sa adj. ending, -se adverbial ending), so look after the affairs, won't you?"

So he said and went to (//ga) the kraal of the porcupine and said: "Uncle Ijzervark (Cape Dutch name for the !naob), please remove this vertebra from me, with which (expressed adjectivally by the ending -sa after the pred.) the dward (-i, old demon. suffix) duped me." Then the porcupine broke (ʼkχõa) the vertebre with (/kχa) his vise (//kχamsas).

Thereupon the jackal said [to himself]: "Hey, that dirt-scum penis guy!* (!haĩ "the sour scum of a dirty milk calabash." !garab "the penis").

> *The dwarf is meant, who proved him a liar
> everywhere. In revenge he lures him into a
> trap and incites the snake against him.

What do you suppose I could do to him?" (mã "what" /abeŝ "plan" neut. sing., "could I" ga, "for" -ba, "him" bi, "find" hõ). And the two of them went along and came to a thick (/gom) thorn tree (//kχūs–) bush. Then the jackal said: "Climb (!aba) [482] after (!gã) the guinea hen (/kχinasa) that is sitting there (//nã)." And the dwarf climbed up. But when it had climbed up, the jackal said to the snake: "Climb up behind the dwarf who is sitting there, grandfather (//naob, respectful form of address)." Then the snake climbed up, but the dwarf jumped down.

Then the jackal said: "Hey (//nai), look at (literally: "hear" !gã) this son of a dirt-scum vagina!"* And the snake climbed down (//gõaχa)

> *The jackal curses the snake, who had let the dwarf slip away, half audibly but still loud enough so that it can hear. /nũis "the vagina." õaba "child."

and called: "Jackal!" And the jackal answered: "My grandfather!" But the snake said: "Have you ever heard and seen (mũ, in the present tense in Hottentot) that (!kχaiē) such a child (/gõaĩ, neut. sing.) as this (nē) curses (/goē) old age (aoē, "a man." The snake is masc. here.)?" So he said and hit (/nau) him. [Fig. --Bitis cornuta L.]

Then he ran away (!kχoē-nĩ). But the dwarf caught (*!kχõ) him, and the snake came and struck him. And he ran away [again] and came to the lion and said: "Grandfather, don't let the snake who is coming (!goaχa) strike me!" He said it and ran away.

And when he had just lain (//goē) down to sleep (//om), the snake came [after him] following (/kχa "with") his (ãb) tracks and woke (/kχai /kχai "went to wake") him and asked: "Where (maba χu) do you come from?"

But he replied: "I am seeking (õa) the cattle (gomana, neut. pl.) that ran away yesterday evening (//an !oē)." Thereupon the serpent: "Don't lie!" And the jackal said: "I am not lying, grandfather."

Then the snake said: "Uncover (/hui) your belly (//kχum), let (ẽ) me see." And he uncovered his belly. Then the snake saw [483] the weals of the hippopotamus whip (!nabaga, masc. pl.) with which he himself had beaten him, and beat him again (//kχaba) and chased him away ("told him to go away").

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIII

The Jackal Who Cheats the Flamingo and the Hen

The jackal came (/kχĩ, narr. pass.) to (doba) a hen (hũnors borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated) who laid (õa "to bear") eggs in (ai) a tree

[p.482]

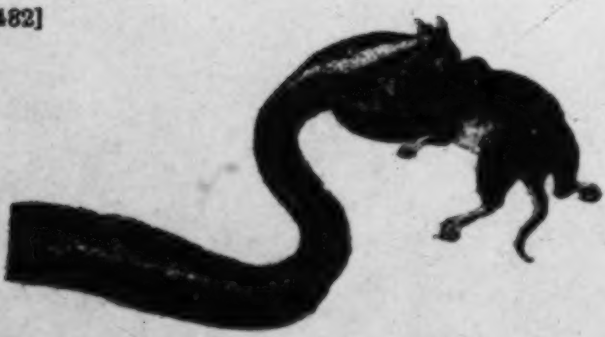

Fig. -- Bitis cornuta L.

[484] (hais), and was sitting (*≠nõas) on the eggs (!ubugu, masc.). Then he said. "Hen, my (ti) sister (!gā, without suff.), please (re, optative particle) throw (ao) one (/gui) of those little things (χũba, masc. sing., -ro dimin.) down (//nā, with the objectifying particle -ba) to me (te, suff.), won't you (χabe)?" But she replied: "I (-ta, suff.) won't (tite, particle of the fut. negative) do (hĩ) it." Then he said: "If (o) I (tita, pron.) wanted to (≠gao, ga, particle of the potential), I could (nĩ, fut. particle) climb (≠oa) up the tree." And he continued: "I will climb up the tree immediately (/āse)! So (χũigye) throw one down!" Then she threw down an egg, and he said: "If you had not (toma, with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed) thrown it down, I would have climbed up." He said it (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) and went away (!gũng).

Then on the next (*nau) day (tsē) he came along just when (hia) the hen was on the ground (!hũb) and caught (*!kχō) her (si, suff.). Then she said: "Wait (//nam), first (aibe) let (ē) me (-ta, suff.) pray* (*/gore)."

[727] *Baptized Hottentots occasionally allowed the white men whom they captured in war time to pray before they shot them.

But when he let (//nãχu) her (the suff. of the subj. -b, is attached to the suff. of the 3rd pers. fem. sing.) loose, she flew (fli, borrowed from Cape Dutch) up (!aba, "to climb up"). Then he said: "This (nē) day you may (ga) mark (≠an "to know")!" And went away.

And he came where (-ba, demon. particle of place) the flamingo (borrowed from Cape Dutch) was catching fish (//auna, neut. pl.), and asked: "When the North Wind (/abas) blows (!gom, ta = ra), how (mati) do you seat (≠nũ) yourselves?" (-go, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.). And the other replied: "I sit like this (nēti)." -- The narrator turns to the South. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the Southeast Wind (*aore ≠oab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northwest. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the sea wind (huri≠oab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northeast. -- Whereupon the jackal: "And when the South wind (!kχabegab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this!"* Then there was a thud (*//ase, onomatopoetic

*The narrator puts his head under his arm, just as the flamingo puts its head under its wing.

for the sound [485] that the ax makes when the jackal chops off the flamingo's head).

Then the jackal went away with (ū) the head (indicated by bi), and when he came to the hen he said: "Have you (-s, personal suffix after mū "to see") seen that !kχaiß) I have killed (!gam) your (sa) husband (aoba)? Throw down the eggs!" But she said: "I won't do it!" Whereupon he: "In just a moment I will fly into the tree! Don't you see that I flew after (!gon, adv.) your husband and killed him?" Then she threw down three (!nona) eggs. But he gobbled (habu) up the eggs and said: "Throw down some more (noχoba, probably borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated)!" But she said: "I won't do it." Whereupon the jackal: "In just a moment I am going to climb up to (!gã) you." But she replied: "Go ahead (o, interjection) and try (tsã) it (ti "so"), let (ẽ) me see." Now he tried to climb up, but he did not get up.

Then she [cursed] him: "Never (/nĩ "another of the same sort," tsẽ "day," tite particle of the fut. negative) shall you (-ts) find (hō) your fortune (!gaĩ !gãe, neut. sing.) on the earth! And may you (-tsi, rare form of the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) eat (≠u) the vermin (≠unina, neut. pl.) that men (kχoi'n, neut. pl.) squash (dã, tsautsau "to make soft") with their feet; we (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl., and sida, pron. of the 1st pers. neut. pl. exclusive) will remain (hã) with men and eat food (≠una, neut. pl.)!" -- In this way the chickens became domestic animals and the jackal became omnivorous. --

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIV

[486]

The Lion Couple That Pretend to Be Dead to the Jackal

A lion couple (χamra, dual masc.-fem.) comes (!goaχa) along foot weary (≠ai //ō) and saw (mũ, narr. pass.) a jackal coming along (hĩa "while," used here in the sense of the present participle). Then they pretended to be dead (//ō//ōen, narr. pass.), and he came (hã) up. And he [gently] touched (!kχã) the anus (tsoas) of one (literally: "an anus"), and the anus contracted.* Then he knew (≠an) that (!kχaiß) the two of them were [only]

[P21]

* goʔm is the reflex blinking of the eyes as well as the reflex contraction of the sphincter ani.

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pretending to be dead and said*: "God, I thank (!kχũitse, dainki, borrowed from Cape Dutch) you (tsi), that (!kχaisa) you (–ts, suff.) have given (mā) me (te, suff.) this (nē) food (≠uē, neut. sing.)." Then he struck (≠nan) his fire making equipment (dorosa) and set a little (–ro, dimin.) grass (/gāna, neut. pl.) on fire (≠hubi, vb.) and said: "First (aibe) I'll look for fire wood (/aēre, vb.)." And went (!gũng) for (//ga) wood. And while he was breaking (*kχõa, ta euphonious for ra) wood there (//nāti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), he went away (bē) and climbed (si "goes," ≠oa "to climb") up (ai) a mountain (!homs) and called: "Well (!gaĩse, adv.) did I touch your (ro, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc. fem.) anus! You offspring of the great dirt-scum penis (see above) had (ga, subjunctive particle) almost (*//gã, with the personal suff. of the subj.) killed (!gam) me!" So he called. But the two of them had been footsore for a long time (hũga), and so ("for the sake of" !ama, "the thing" !kχais) they did not (toma) run [after him].

And he went and lay down ("went to lie down" //goē) under (*!gao) a projecting ledge (//hoab), and while he lay sleeping (//om), [487] the leopard (/garuba) came (hã) and caught (*!kχo) him (bi). [But he cried:] "My grandfather (ti //naob, respectful form of greeting), wait a minute (//nam)! The ledge (/uib) is falling (//nã) on (ai) us (–kχum, suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.), so (*hũgye) push [so that both of us will not be killed] (*ãnã)!" Then both of them pushed, and the jackal said: "Let me ("allow" hã, "that I" –ta, suf., and tita, personal pron.) seek (ō) wood to prop (≠kχã) underneath (!na)." And he looked and hurried away. But the leopard stood there (mã) [and] pushed there (//nã) [against] the ledge (with the personal suff. of the subj.) until he died (//ō, literally: "while he etc. --, he died"). [The jackal], however, remains away several days (tsēti) long (gaũ); then he comes to investigate (gū). There the other one is dead, and the jackal cries: "You (go, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.) will die of stupidity! (gās = gãse, adv., "dumb"). If (o) it were (ga, subjunctive particle) I, then (the same o) you (–ts in ots) would probably be strong (/gai) with (ū) the ledge!* May it [always] happen (E

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*In order to make the lions believe that their stratagem had succeeded and that the jackal now wanted to roast them.

*That is: "You would probably be able to handle me instead of the ledge; but you threw away that chance."

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"to happen," -be objectifying particle) to you exactly (/gui "single") the same way (//nãti)."

[Text omitted]

Translation of LXV

The Jackal Who Slaughters the Cow and is Ambushed by the Leopard

The jackal (/gĩrib) had slaughtered (≠khe)* the cow (gomaas) of the people (khoin). But the leopard (/garube) [486] lay in wait* for him (hi).

*The χa after /gĩrib can be omitted and the predicate still remains pass. From this it is apparent that we are dealing here, in ≠khe, with the narr. pass. and that the χa here is not the postpositive prep., but a demon.

*am is the postpositive "for," an interesting old form for ā (see Hahn (78), p. 61). //gœ = "to lie." "To lie for something" = to lie in wait for or to ambush.

And while (hĩa) he is being ambushed (true pass.), he comes (/kxi) with (/kha) a stringed instrument (ramgyib)*, and while he is coming (!goeib,

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*Although this musical instrument, according to the information I received from one Hottentot, is plucked with the finger, in the following passage the word ≠kau "to strike" is used. That is an indication that the instrument was adopted only after the old term for the striking of the musical bow had already acquired the general meaning "to make stringed music" (cf. "Music Pantomimes," p. 374). Quite analogous is the use of the word daro (see "Fire Making Equipment").

he plays ("strikes") and asked (ūi): "Who (tarië) is near (doba) the water? (//gammi)* The water always (hoga, "ever") answers (oë, -he objectifying

*Here he uses the same stratagem that he used with the lion in XLI (see the bottom of p. 476.)

verbal particle) me (te) indeed (gum---ç), after all (xabe)! I will ask [just] this (ne) one (/guise) time (!nâ)." And again (//khabe) he asked: "Who is at the water?" Then the leopard cried: "It is I!" But the [jackal] says: "Have you (-ts) [ever] heard (//nâ) or (tsî "and") seen (mû) that (!khaiè) the water answers?" He said it and ran away.

[Text omitted]

[489] Translation of XLVI

The Lion and the Jackal

The lion and the jackal, the two of them, had gone (!ãa, narr. past.) hunting, and the jackal shot with his bow (//khaũ, vb.) fat (gaosa) giraffes (!naĩte). But the lion shot a skinny (ǂgaibesa) giraffe; and the giraffes *and the giraffes that the jackal had shot he took* (ū), and he gave (mā) the jackal the skinny giraffe that he (//(e)ib) himself had killed. Then he gave him (bi, suff.) fat (gaoga, masc. pl.) and told (ǂai) him to call (ǂgai) the lioness (taras "wife").

But when (ō) the jackal came there (ai), he gave the fat to his (//(e)ib, pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. used as a poss. with the omission of the gen. particle) children (ona, neut. pl.) and gave the lion children the lungs (sõra) and said to the lioness: "Your husband (aob) wants [me] to say (goro, an adverb that indicates that that which he says is a commission) to you: "Stay (hā) at home with (/kha) the children (/goan)." Then he took his (the root ĕ is supplemented to become a poss. pron. by attaching the personal suff. of the possessor) wife and his children, all of them, and went (!gû) and came [to the lion]. Then the lion said: "Where (maba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) is the mistress (//nanes, literally: "grand-mother," a term of respect)?" And he answered: "Sir, my (ti) mistress does not wish (tite, fut. negative) to go (with personal suff.), so (tsoni)

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she refused (≠hoā) and remained." Then the lion went [himself]

But the jackal dragged (āna "to climb up," ū "to take") all (hoa) the meat (//gana) up into (ai) the giraffe tree and left (//naipu) the skinny giraffe behind. Then he roasted (aira) out the fat and roasted a round quartz stone (//garoas) into (!na) the grease (//nuib). Now the lion came (/hoē) and cried, and the jackal answered (oē). [Then the lion cried:] "Pull me (te, suff.) up (!ana "to climb up," ū, see above)!" Then a thong [490] (!hauba) was let down (ū//na) to him (-ba, in the predicate, objectifying particle), and he was drawn up ("/naua); but just when (hīa) he arrived (ō, ta + ra) [above], the thong was cut (!khai and !gao) and he plunged down.* Then the jackal

*) oē signifies: a) the pressing of nursing cattle against the udder; b) to drop, with the refl. ending -sen: to plunge down.

said [to his mate]: "Give me a newly (/kaa) prepared thong, -- [and whispered]: "give me an old thong!"

But when the lion could not manage (//oa "to be unable," doaxa "to come forth"), the jackal said: "Sir, open (khaiba) your jaws (am !nasa) and (ū, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) catch (ǂkhō) this (nē) piece of fat (neut. sing.) neatly (nanse)! And be sure that it does not (tā + tama) fall (ģau "to set," ī "to happen") on the ground (!hūb), for (ǂnigye) if (o, ge particle of the potential) it falls, it will go to pieces (/am)!" Then the [lion] opened his jaws, and the fat [with the red hot quartz stone in it] fell right down (ǂhā, vb.) into his mouth.

Then the jackal cried: "Sir, [run] to (//gā) the water! (//gama) To the water!" But he did not get there (doba) to the water, but died (//ō). (Literally: "while he did not get there, he died.") -- The stone plunged

[illegible] through his intestines and tore open his anus. For that reason -- this is what the Hottentot told me when I asked for further details--every lion, when it has killed an animal, first gulps down a piece of hide in order to close up the hole that the glowing stone made.

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[Text omitted]

[491] Translation of XLVII

The Lion, the Husband of the White Crow

The lion had married the white crow; she had made (guru, with an indication of the ind. obj. by means of -ba) wings (//gaboga) for him (bi, personal suff.) and he flies (borrowed). Then when (o) he flies (ta euphonious for ra), she hangs up (!gaß "to bind," maĩ "to put") the bones (≠khōte, fem.) [of the slain prey]. But he cannot endure (/gara) that people (khoēna, neut. pl.) walk about (!gũng), kills (!gam) everyone (hoaß, neut. sing.) that he sees (mū, with the personal suff. of the subject; ta ≠ ra, with the personal suff. of the obj.). That is the way (ti) he does (hĩ) it.

Then one (/gui) day (tsẽ) the jackal came (/kxī) and said [to the crow]: "Give (ˀau "to present") me (te, personal suff.) water (//gami)!" But she replied: "I (-ta, personal suff.) cannot (//oa, vb.) go away (bē) from (xu) the hut (omas), indeed (gum---o)."* Whereupon the jackal: "I (tita) sit (≠nõa) here (nēba), and no dog (ariß, neut. sing.) shall (tite, particle of the fut. negative) approach; so (ˀhīgye) go (sī) and draw (ˀgurī) [water]." Then she went.

But the jackal took (ū) the bones down (//nā, vb., in the pret. participle) and beat them to pieces (≠noa "to throw," /am /am, "to shatter"). Then the crow (expressed by the personal suff. -s in tsīs) came and asked: "Who (tariß) has done (dī) such a thing (/gauß)?" But the other answered: "When the other answered: "When (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -n neut. pl.) I slept (//om) here (nēba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) a bit (-ro, dimin.), dogs came in (≠gā, vb.)."

Then when the sun (sores) went down, the two of them (-ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) lay down to sleep. But the jackal took [492] (ū, narr. pass.) the cover (≠namsa) of the di, gen. particle) white crow and gave (mā) the white crow his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron.) cover.

And the lion, while (hā) he approached (!goexa) from afar (!nūse, adv. with the personal suff. of the subj.), cried: "Mother (aise)! Lift (tsē)

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*Because she has to keep a check on the bones that are hung up! For if the bones fall to the ground, then the lion also plunges to the earth.

me up, won't you (re)!" * Then he came up and saw a strange (/hχara)

*The narrator bellows the word toa in a deep extended bass, imitating a distant lion's roar.

blanket. Then he stabbed (!kχā) the white crow dead (!an). But the jackal sprang (uri) forth (‡ora) and cried: "May (re, optative particle) we (-gye) poor (/gē) people [now be able to] walk peacefully (//goe "to lie") about (ai) the earth (!hūb)!"

[Text omitted]

[490] Translation of XLVIII

The Snake That a Stone Rolled Over While It Was Sunning Itself

A snake that was rolled over (‡nū "to sit," ai "on") by a stone (/uini - /uis ga) while (hā) it lay there (//goe) sunning itself (literally: "attaching" ‡naobe "itself" -sen, "to the sun" sore; -ī is an adjective forming particle), calls to all (hoan) people (khoēn, neut. pl.) who pass by (!): "Help (ū "to take") me (te, personal suff.) get up (khai ai), won't you (probably borrowed; re optative particle)?"

Then one day the porcupine came (/hχī), and the snake cried: "Please help me to get up." Then the porcupine helped it up and went (!gūng) with (!) it (bi, suff.) to (//ga) the water (//gamm). But when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -b) the two of them had come (!) to (dobe) the water, the snake coiled (tami) around the porcupine (expressed by the suff. bi), and when its head (danas) comes to (!na) his throat (doml), she said: "I'll eat (!) you (ts, personal suff.)!" Then the porcupine said: "Hey (khā) we (-khom, suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.) are on our way (gare, vb.), after all (gum---o), to a big (gai) kraal (//gaub)!"*

*Supply: "Let us settle our matter there."

And the two of them came to the kraal of the ase lizard. But it said*: "The men (aogu) have already (toa "to be through") hurried away

*The following answers are supposed to typify cowardly refusal to play the part of a judge.

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(!gũng and !hia) and have deserted (χu) me! [I must quickly follow them!]" It spoke and went away.

Then they came to the kraal of the gabestaub lizard. But it tied (!gae "to bind," !kχāb "body") its blanket (ǂnanna) up and ran away.

Then they came to the kraal of the jackal. But he tied up his blanket and said: "What (tarē, with the suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. dual masc.) are you seeking (oa) here (guaχa "to arrive")? I am just (ra, progressive action) leaving, I am just leaving! Come quickly and (ē, with imperative force) let me (-ta) hear (//nãū)." Then the two of them came, and the porcupine said: "Oh (ó at the end of the sentence), this one (nē) here (kχoēb, "man"), from whom after all (gum---o) [494] I rolled off the stone, wants to eat me." Whereupon the jackal: "Come! Fun! Let me see (gū)!"

Then they got there and the jackal said: "Lie down (ǂnũ "to sit down"), let me see!" Then the snake lay down in (ai) two (/gam) coils (!houra, dual fem., formed from !hon "to return"). Then the jackal asked (tē): "Was the lying (ǂnũsa) like that (nētī)?" And the porcupine said: "No!" Then she lay down the right way (ǂχaac).

But the jackal put (ǂnũi) the stone on her and said: "Even (χabe) always (gum) when we (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl.) go past here (ī), the snake may continue to say: "Please help me up, [We will leave it lying there!]" And he said further: "If (o) something (χūī) bad (tsũba, "wrong") happens to you (gurō), only (/gui) then do you think of me (tita)!" (Literally: "is there a thinking-of-me," ǂkas fem.). He said and whipped (ǂnai) the porcupine.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIX

The Jackal and the Two Girls

And (o) it happened this way (literally: "was done" hĩbe): The jackal, to be sure (gye, verbal particle of the present; hã, verbal particle [495] expressing a condition; ǁ "to take"), has two (/gam) girls (kχ/ĝra, dual fem.) but only (/gui) with (/kχa) one (/gui) girl does he sleep (//om, again pass.). And (nē) since (o) he [can] not (tama) enjoy (tā "to taste," pass.) the other (!nau) girl, he made (dī, pass.) a plan (/abeb, neut. sing.).

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He went hunting (!au), and shortly before (//gā) he went (!gūng, pass.), [he said]: "If (o, "if . . . then") a springbok (//gūbe) comes by (double vb.: hā "to come hither," ī "to go," ga verbal particle of the subjunctive) here (nēba, with the personal suff. of the subj.), then the two of you (-ro personal suff. of the 2nd pers. dual fem.) are to (nī) speak (mī) thus (ti): May (ga) this (nē) springbok collapse (*gāra) in (!na) the bone of his upper thigh (literally: "big" gai, "bone" ≠kxāb)!" (gonne gives these words the character of a commission.) And the two of them said: "Yes (ī)!" To (//gā) the other girl, however, he said: "You (sats) will take (ū) the genitals*

*) /na aib are the male genitals along with everything connected with them; ai "upon." Similar slaughtering terms are: !nā aib "the belly region"; saru aib "the skin and fat in the cutting area of the fat-tail that is opened along the central center line."

if the springbok collapses."

--The lascivious jackal goes off, transforms himself into a springbok and hastens past the girls.--

And when the springbok came by, then the two of them [cried]: "May the springbok that is running (gare) there (*nau : //naba) collapse in the bone of the upper thigh!" Then the springbok collapsed and they slaughtered (≠ā) it. But the one girl, whom [the jackal] had not enjoyed, took the genitals and roasted (am) them and took them out (≠ui) [of the fire] and ate (ū) first (aibe) the fat (gaune) and ate up all the fat completely (tsa "to cease"). Then she placed (//gui) [the penis of the springbok] on (ai) a broad (≠habe) stone (/uis) and pounded (*khom) it soft. But then [the penis] jumped into (!na) her (//ō)ā) (≠gā "to go in"); and she pulled (≠hai) it out and pounded it again (//hāxabe); and then it jumped back into her. But the jackal* cries: "She who (sa) has never (hoga "ever," tama "not") been

*When the jackal has satisfied his lust, he resumes his old shape, dances around the girl and says: (see above).

enjoyed (nakhe)--[I have] enjoyed her (s)!"

[496] [Text omitted]

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Translation of 1

The Jackal Who Carried the Sun Pickaback

And it happened like this (hĩbe "was done"): they went wandering ([illegible]), and with (/kχa) the jackal the people went [497] (kχofu, neut. pl.) away (hẽ, vb.); however (χabe), he remained (hã, narr. pass.) behind (kχaos ai) and came (hã) where (-ha) the sun* (soris) was sitting ([illegible]), and said: "Come, let (ã, with imperative force) me (-ta) carry you (si, fem.) on my back." (aba "to carry a child in a skin on one's back.") But she refused ([illegible]). Nevertheless (χabe) he said: "Come let me carry you on my back." Then he picked her up, and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) went (!gũng).

And while (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they are going (gura), he was no longer able to bear the load* (hau "to bring," //oa "not to be able"). Then he said: "Climb off; let me shoot ([illegible]) those (ne) giraffes (!naĩ'ao + ti, fem. pl.)." But she said: "Always (hoga), even when (hĩa "while") I (-ta) was being carried pickaback, people have shot giraffes with me (ũ "to take," he pass. ending)." And the two of them went. Then he said: "Climb down, there (nẽn, demon. pron., neut. pl.) stand (mã) some springbok (//gũna, neut. pl.)." But she said: "Always, even when I was being carried pickaback, people have seen (mũ) springboks with me." And the two of them went on (//kχaba). And when the man (aube, the jackal in human form) could no longer stand it, he said: "There stand some elands (!gurute + -ti), so ([illegible]), climb down, let me shoot." But she [replied]: "Always, even when I was being carried pickaback, people have, after all ([illegible]), shot elands with me." Whereupon the man: "In just a moment (/kai) I will (nĩ) rape (χai "to complete copulation") you with the

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*Conceived in the shape of a beautiful girl.

*He now tries, with all sorts of stratagems, to free himself from the load of the sun, but is continually rejected with ironic words.

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penis (≠kâi) that is located on (/kxāb "body," ai "at") my back (!gāb)." But she said: "I have always been used to copulating with a penis which is situated on the back."

Then he hurried (!kxóē) with (ū "to take," used here as a prep.) her (si) and went (sī) into (!na) the water (//gami). "Splash" ("//ubu) said [the water], but he was not (tama) helped (hui). Then he came up (≠oa, vb.) out of (≠ò) the water and dug (≠oro) a root ("!numaba "a root stock that runs horizontally") and slipped (//haru) there (//nā) under the root, and [498] while the sun got stuck ("≠noa) by her skin (kxōb), he crept through (!kxara, vb.) on the other ("nau) side (/kxāb) and goes home (//aru).

Then he met (ū "to come," "hō "to get") the two (-ra, dual fem.) sun sheep and slaughtered (≠hā) one and took the fat (gauna) and went and came [home]. Then the children (/goāna, neut. pl.) [cried]: "Father (dāb, abbreviated from dādab) is carrying (tani) meat* (//gana)!" Thus (tami) they hurried toward (!oa, vb.) [him]. Then the man became angry (//aixa) and comes (/kxī), while he is expiring (//ō, ta euphonious for ra) of thirst ("//gāsi "thirsty"), and demands (≠gan) water. Then his wife (tarasa) gave (mā) [some water] to him, and while he takes [it] (double vb.: !kxō "to take," !oa "to meet," ta = ra.), [the water] dries (≠hā) up.* Then the wife knew (≠an) that (!kxaisi) he had slaughtered a sun sheep and said: "We here (-da, demon. pron., [illegible] 1st pers. pl. neut.) go past the two sun sheep that you slaughtered there every (hoa) day (tsēse * tī)." (Double vb.: !gūng and ī "to go," /kxāb "side"). So she said and asked (ūi) whether (!kxaisi) he had taken the fat. And he said: "I have!" Whereupon she: "Go, put (≠nūi) it away." Then he went to put it away, but he keeps a small (≠kxari) piece of fat (-ro, dimin.) and comes. Then

*The children thought that the hideless back of the old jackal, which had been scraped bloody, was prey that he carried on his back.

*According to legend, the sun lets two sheep that are untouchable graze on the earth. Whoever commits the sin of touching them dies of thirst because all water dries up before his very lips.

the wife poured out (≠nā. ba, objectifying particle) [some water] for him, and again (//kχaba) the water dried up. Then she said: "Go, put it all (horagase) away." Whereupon he: "I am keeping a little bit (≠kχāb "thing," ro, dimin., i, suff. of the neut. sing.) in order (ga) to anoint (soba, nī verbal particle of the fut.) my eyes (mũte : ti)." But the wife said: "As long as (gōse) you (–ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) keep the fat (ãina, neut. pl.) there (//nā), you will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) drink (ā) water and (tsĩ, with the rarely used full form of the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.: tsi) die of thirst." Then he went to put all of it away and came and drank water.

[499] [Text omitted]

[Fig.--Felis leo L. O]

[500] Translation of LI

The Ostrich Hen Who Marries the Lion

An ostrich hen (/amias) had married (!game, narr. pass.) a lion and bore (ōa). But when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) she drove (!kχaĩ, "to drive the cattle to the fields after milking") the cows (gomase) into the fields after milking, the lion ate up the baby (/gūap, neut. sing., –ro dimin.), and when (hĩa) the baby was already devoured (habe), she came along. Then she bore again (//kχaba), but once again the lion ate the child (expressed by the demon. root //nā with the personal suff. of the neut. sing. –i).

But she bore the third, (!nona //(e)ĩ, with personal suff.) after (–tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after χoro "to dig") she had dug a hole (ǂhũs), in (!na) the den without his (–b after /ū "not to know") knowing it. And when (o) she had finished (toa "to cease") milking (/ao) and drives (ta : ra) the cows into the fields, she comes (sī) to call (ǂgai) the child (bi, personal suff. of the masc.) for nursing (dai "to suck," –si gives the vb. a causative force) and [sings] like this (nenti): "Catch (ū) him (bi), the one with the skinny (!gara) rear* [501] (kχaoba)! my Batsibab! Catch

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*The mother teases the child about his skinniness and frightens him. Batsibab is the proper name of the young ostrich; I ran across this word only one other time.

1: Schultze--282A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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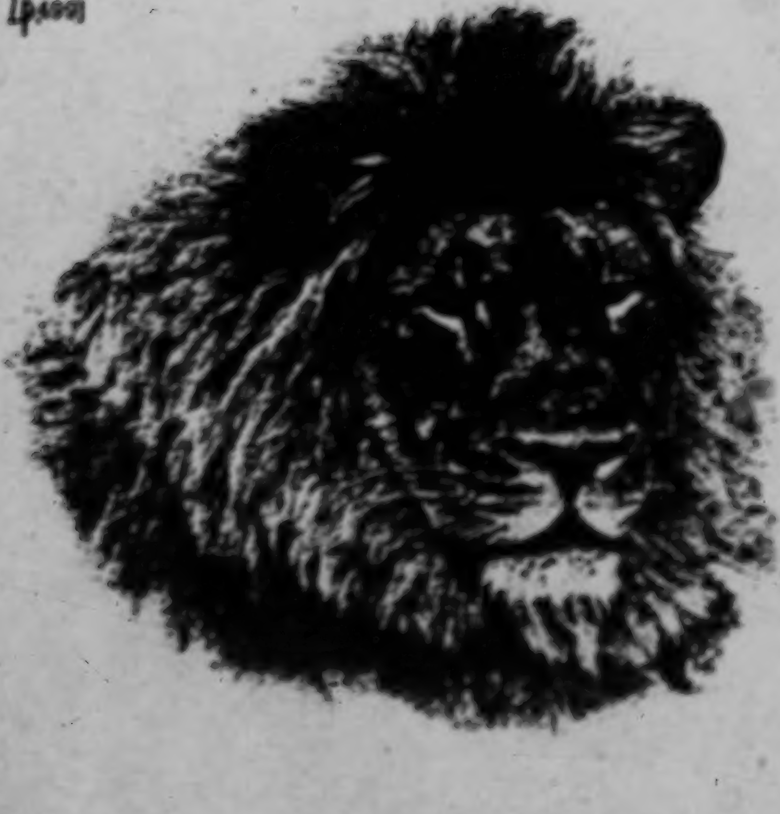
[p.109]



Felis leo L. ♂

with a feminine ending, as the name of a girl from the Bethanie Hottentots. Hubeis is the proper name of the ostrich hen.

him, the son (oaba) of Hubeis!" Then it comes out (≠oaXa, vb.) and when it has finished nursing, she goes [off]. Then she leaves the cows standing (//nãXu "to leave") [in the fields], and when she comes back she cries: "Catch him, the one with the skinny rear! Barnibeb! Catch him, the son of Hubeis!" Then it comes out and nurses.

But one (/gui) day (tsē), when she was driving the cows (with the personal suff. of the subj.) into the fields, the lion followed (sao) her (si, suff.), without her seeing (mũ, hã auxiliary vb. with adj. ending) it, and saw where (maba, interrogative, with personal suff.; through the conjunction !khaiē it gets the force of an indirect question which is expressed in German by a relative clause) she had borne, and he heard (//nau) how (mati) she called. And when she had finished suckling the child and had gone away, he comes to the place and sings*: "Catch him, the one with

*The narrator growls the words of enticement in a deep bass.

the skinny rear!" etc. But the child did not come out. Then he called again*: "Catch him!" etc. Now it came out and he caught (*!khã) and

*The narrator now sings the words in a high voice.

swallowed it.

[Fig.--Struthio australis].

But the ostrich hen left the cows in the fields, and when she came back, she called: "(The call of enticement followed). But it was still (!ai). And once again she sang (!gā) and stepped (hã) up to (tama ai) the den (ha : hā). Then she saw the tracks (dana, masc. pl.) of the (di, gen. particle) lion. When she came back (sī), she sang: "Oh Hingenaleu,*

*Punning folk-tale name for the ostrich.

when (o) I (tita) bear a son (expressed here by the suff. -bi), then he (oaba "son") whom I bear is (hã) always only (/guib "single") an unfortunate one!" (/aua. The -bi is an old demon. of the masc. sing.) But

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Struthio australis L. ♀

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the two of them (-ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) dissolved their marriage ([illegible], vb.) and the ostrich hen went back home (//aru, vb.).

[Text omitted]

[Translator's note: The single German phrase in the text (at the top of page 503) means: "Final song with low accompaniment."]

[503] Translation of III

The Baboon and the Lion

The baboon and the lion, the two of them, live (//an) together (//areine "united"). And (o) when (o, after !gũng) the baboon takes (ū) the musical bow (kxãha, see page 376) and goes (!gũng, verbal particle of the present), the lion creeps (/kxari, expressed passively) behind the baboon. But he sees (mũ) that (!kxaib) he is being followed (ta euphonious for ra) and [sings]: "I see (mũ, -ra verbal particle) the one (-ba) who follows (//habe) me (-ta), a person (kxoe-). I (tita) [see the] creeper. [I] with eyes everywhere (tsaba "to look around distrustfully," -ga a particle denoting a high degree, mũb "eye," -sa adj. ending) [see] the creeper!" In this way (tami) he plays on the bow (!gabu "to strike").

But the lion (indicated by the suff. -b in ob) believes (#ai, ti "so"), when (o) he is being (ra : ra) looked at (gõbe, with suff.), [that he sees the baboon's] back-of-the-head (!aurob) and creeps on, although he is seen. But when the baboon looks away (!aru/ib), the other ducks down (//goe "to lie down"), and when he is seen, he creeps on. And he came all the way up (double vb.: hã "to come," toa "to cease") and jumped (#khani). Then the baboon quickly (!nubue) slipped away (#gui) toward the overhanging cliff ("corner") and the lion fell (//nã) down (//gusa) from (!ka) the cliff (here with a full case ending) and perished (//o).

Then the baboon, after (ni, verbal particle of the pret. participle) he had climbed down (//gõe), cut (#ei) out (#hai) the liver (aĩsa) and mashed (ani) it and went (ei) to (ai) the kraal (//gaus) with (/kxa) the liver and gave (mã) the [lion's] mother (//gusa) the lion (Xami) liver.

Then she asked (tē): "Why (tarexa) does the liver stuff (-ē, neut. sing., with a contemptuous connotation) taste (//kxoa) like that (hī)?" Thereupon [504] the baboon told (gai) his (ā, root of the poss. pron. connected with the personal suff., -b, of the possessor) children (/gōan) and his wife (taras) to climb (≠oa) up (//gā) the cliff. And they climbed up. Then, when (o) they had climbed up, he answered (!eream) the lioness while (o, "when") he meanwhile (hīa) remained (!gau) alone (/guri) at (doba) the hut (oms): "Over there"* (//nā, with the personal suff. of the subject) the liver acquires (hā) such a taste (kxoma "so," tā "to taste")." Thus he answered her (si).

*As he speaks the baboon points sarcastically toward the lion's hut.

[Fig.--Papio porcarius (Boddaert.) an old male.]

Then she came out (≠oaxa), but he runs away (!kxoē, nī, verbal particle of the fut. expresses anticipation of being chased) and climbs up (double vb.: sī and ≠oa). And (o) she comes (tī) there and sees that (!kxaē) her (ās) son (/goab) is dead (//ō). Then she became afraid (!ao) and she cries: "You (tsi) stay (hā) forever (!ari "completely") on (ai) the mountains (!hommi)!" [Ever since] this (ne) day (tsēs) the baboon remains (hā with an adjectival gerundive ending -sa) on the mountains.

[The baboons now live in peace and sing:]

"When (o in the last measure, with the suff. -gye: "we") we pick up (naba) tree resin ("/naruna, favorite food of the baboon) and are sitting (≠nu) [comfortably], then kindly leave us in peace!" (Literally: "Then may we sit, please," -re).

[506] [Text omitted]

Translation of LIII

The Aro Lizard and the Lion

The aro lizard lives as a neighbor (!hari, masc. pass.), to (/kxa) the lion. And the lion goes hunting (!an, [506] vb.); then the lizard strings

[p.504]

Papio porcarius (Boddaert.) an old male.

bones (≠koxõgu) on a cord" (tsõana, vb. in the narr. pass.) and lies down

"The lizard is making itself a rattle to
frighten the lion.

(sĩ "goes," //goë "to lie down") beside (!na "on, next to") the path (daob),
and when (o) the lion comes (kxĩ) with the personal suff., ta : ra) he [the
lizard] slips (≠gã, narr. pass.) between (!na "in") [the lion's] legs (/nugu).
Then he [the lion] throws (ao) the meat (//gangu, masc. pl.) away (Xu "to
abandon") and flees (!kxoë-ai).

But the lizard takes (ũ) the meat, and when (o) he comes (sĩ, ta : ra)
[home], he says (mĩ, with the objectifying particle -ba) to his wife (taras):
"Order (ē) the children (/gõan, neut. pl.) not (tā : toma) to play (/huru)
with (//are "to come together") the lion children." So he says.

But one (/gui) day (tsē) when the lion had gone away (!gũng), the
children ran away and played together. Then they got into a quarrel (!kxam,
vb.) and the lizard children cried: "Hey, how nicely (!gãise) our father
(dībi) frightens (!ao!ao) your father (saobs) with the bones and takes (ũ) the
meat away (/hana "to rob," narr. pass., with personal suff.) [from him]."

But the lion, frightened (-tai, verbal particle of the past.) [by the old
[illegible] lizard], again (//kxabe) came (/kxĩ) without (ōsa) meat. Then the
children said: "Uncle Trust God (Cape Dutch name for the !arub-lizard),
indeed (gum---o), does (Xabe) frighten father and takes the meat away (Xu)
from father."

Then the lion went to the (//go) kraal (//gãus) of the lizard and got
there and asked (/ā) like this (tsuni): "Are you (satsa, pron. of the 2nd pers.
masc. sing.) making (di) me (tita, pron. with the personal suff. of the 2nd
pers. masc. sing.: -ts) your village idiot?" (//are "to make a fool of,"
kxoë "person," neut. sing.).

But the lizard said: "Why (tare! !ama) does Uncle ask such things?"
(/gaoë, "way," neut. sing.).

Whereupon the lion: "Why, your (sa) children said that you frighten
me and take the meat away; that is what (ti) your children said."

But the lizard said: "Since (o) I (deinon. root ai with the personal
suff. of the 1st pers. sing.) lie down hungry (!ãs) when the sun (sores) sets
(≠gã)--how in the world (literally: "at" ai, "which" mã, "time" //aëb) do
I know (/kxo) about something like that?" (xũna "things," neut. pl.).

[307] Then the lion went. But the lizard said to the lizard wife:
"Didn't I tell you (sats, pron. of the 2nd pers. fem. sing.), the children

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[should] not (tā) play together?" and put (≠gā) the children in the rogue's sack.* Then he went to the lion's kraal, got there and said to the lion:

[415]

*) /hōa gaos, a little sack made of leather in which small stolen items are concealed (cf. page 235).

"Because (xūi as) the misbehavior of this pack of children (literally: "the manner that resembles I this child thing,") now (nē sirisa) is bringing strife between us (literally: "drags" ≠gae, "the two of us" sakxum, "together" //are, vb.), look (gum-:-o "yes"), for that reason I have (the pret. is expressed here by toa "to be finished") killed (≠hau !ao) my (ti, stem of the pron. of the 1st pers. sing., used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) children." So he said.

Then the lion killed (!gam) his (ā, root of the poss. pron.; with the personal suff. of the possessor it forms the full poss. pron.) children so that not (tamase, adv.) even (tsī, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl. referring to /goan) a single (/gui) little one (-ro dimin.) was left (!gao).

[Fig. --A member of the Lacertidae that is called /gabetau-b (3. m.) and is related to the Scapteira. 1/6 natural size.]

But the aro lizard went home (//are, vb.) and when he climbed up (ai) a mountain ridge (!nau) and saw (mū) a gabetaub lizard,* he dumped

*This variety is reputed to be a favorite food of the aro lizard.

(tsaxu) the children out (≠hu). When a noise (≠kxrubis) arose (≠hā "to sit, to take place") there, the lion cried: "Give (au) me some of (xa) the thing, won't you (te), with (ō) which you (-ts, suff.) have made [illegible] your children come to life." But he did not see the aro lizard again.

[illegible] [Text omitted]

Translation of LIV

The Lion Who Calls the Women So That He Can Be Massaged

The lion pretends to be deathly ill (/ō//ham, caus. pass.) and calls ([illegible], caus. pass.) the women (tarade = khoi-, "people," fem.) so that

1: Schultze--287A H-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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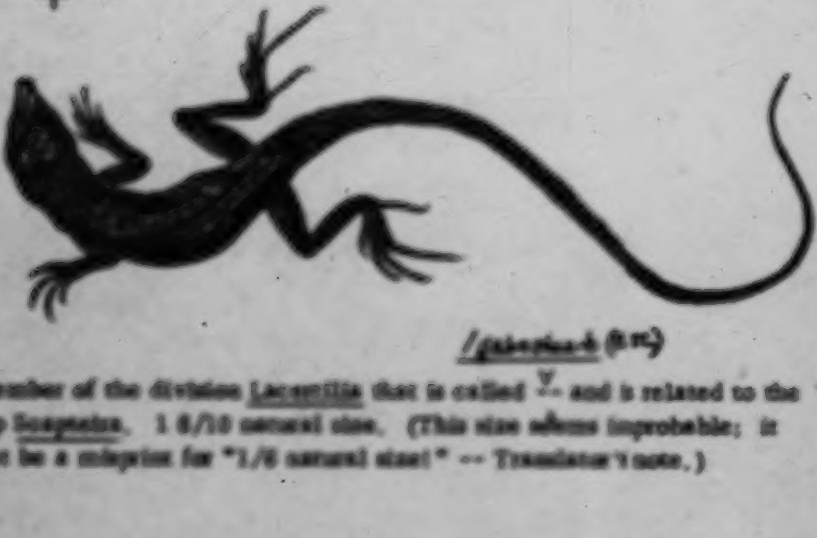
I[p307]



[illegible] (87)

A member of the division Lacertilia that is called $\overset{V}{--}$ and is related to the group [illegible]. 1 8/10 natural size. (This size seems improbable; it might be a misprint for "1/8 natural size!" -- Translator's note.)

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(ga) he may be massaged (!guri).* And they came (/kxi). But the ostrich

[75] *Massage is one of the favorite household remedies of the Hottentots.

(/amis) is milking (/ao) the cows (gomate - -ti) and sings (//nae): "[You look] alive (ũitsabe) in the (!na) eye (mũ), I (tita, pron.) think (ĝeĩ)."*

*The ostrich sees through the lion's deception.

Thus (tami) sang the ostrich; whereupon [the lion]: "Little ostrich (-ro, dimin.), what (tae, abbreviated from tare) are you saying (mĩ, ta after the s, the personal suff. of the subj., is euphonious for ra) there (ti)?" Whereupon the other: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob, term of respect) is most (gai "big" -se adverbial ending) deathly sick, I think, deathly sick is he." So said the ostrich. And the women (expressed only by the personal suff. of the fem. pl.) finished (toa "to cease") massaging him and went home (//kru, vb.). But one (/guias) he caught (*!kxa) and had intercourse with her. (≠ae, "to complete coitus").

[Text omitted.]

[309] Translation of LV

The Lion and the Ostrich

The lion and the ostrich, the two of them, met (hao, narr. pass.) in (!na) the fields (!gamsi) when (hĩa) the lion had just killed (!gam) a springbok (//gubo). Then the ostrich lit (kxao) a fire (/aeba). But the lion ate (ã) [the meat] raw (orase, adv.), and the ostrich roasted (am) it, and when (o) he had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff. of the subj.) eating, he again (//kxaba) went (ĩ) to cut off (!gao) [some more for himself].

Then the lion said: "Say (gum---o), it was I (tita, pron.), after all (≠aba), who killed a springbok (ähaeb?, neut. sing.)!" and got angry (//aixa).

Then the ostrich said: "You (sa---ts) child of a raw-eater! ("child" õa, "of a mother who eats raw meat"; the mother is only hinted at contemptuously by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.: -s,) you (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) raw-eater!"

And the lion replied: "You child of a pebble-swallower!" (//gurus

*It is well known that the ostrich has a considerable number of pebbles in its gizzard for grinding its food.

"quartz," hara "to swallow") You pebble-swallower! Let (hâ) us (-khom, [510] suff.) fight with our teeth (//gū) -- What about it (o)?" (Literally: "let us stand with our teeth mutually in front," aibegu).

But the ostrich replied: "My mother (mamas, with the old demon. particle -i) did not (tama) bear (//ora, aor. pass.) me (ta, suff.) for (-ba) anything (khi) like a fight with teeth."

Then the lion said: "Then let us fight with our hands (!um)." But the ostrich replied: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a hand fight."

[Fig.--Struthio australis L. ♂]

And the lion said: "Then (//nai) let us fight with our heads (tanas)." But the ostrich replied: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a head fight."

Then the lion said: "Then let us fight with our feet (!ai)." But the ostrich said: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a foot fight."

Now the lion said: "Then let us fight with our claws." Then the ostrich said: "Yes, for that (literally: "for the //nâsa, "place" !khais) she (//(e)isa, personal pron.) did indeed bear me."

And the two of them kicked (!nû) each other (-gu, reciprocal particle). The lion kicked, but he did not accomplish anything (di "to do"). Then the ostrich kicked and slit (//nuf) the lion open.*

*The kick of an ostrich in heat has caused much damage on the breeding farms of the Cape Colony.

[511] [Text omitted]

Translation of LVI

The Steinbok and the Lion

The steinbok and the lion, the two of them, were out hunting (!au, vb. in the narr. pass.) and met (/hao) in (!na) the fields (!garob). Then

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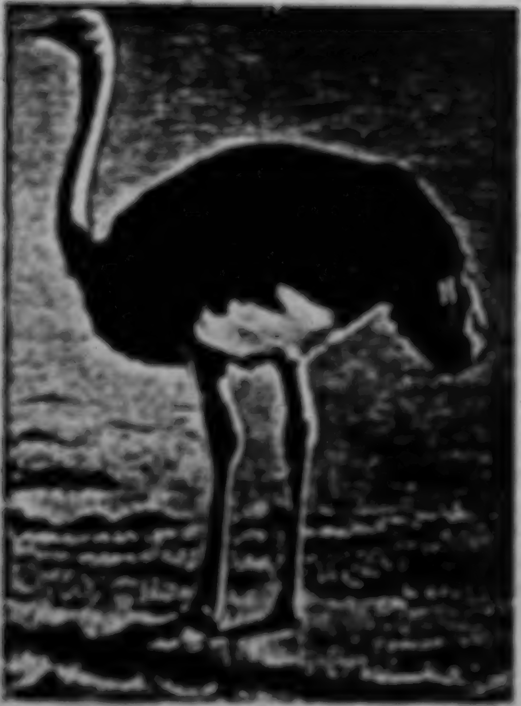
[510]



Struthio australis L. ♂

k 539

the lion said: "What (tama) kind of little things" (Xurona) are set (mai) on you

"The sharp pointed horns of the male are meant.

(indicated by the objective particle -ba) there (ni, demon. root with the personal suff. of the subj.)?"

Whereupon the other said: "Oh (kxa), when (o) you (sago, pron. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.) see (mu) a person (khoeb, neut. sing., -ro dimin.) alone (/guri) and would (ga, verbal particle of the potential, go personal suff. of subj.) do some harm (//ore) [to him just as you would to me (te, suff.), then I will (ni) defend myself (//kxaubasen) with (i) the little things that I have on my head, yes indeed (gomo)."

Then the lion said: "Run (!kxoa) and (e, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) butt (of "go," !kxa "to shove, to butt"), won't you (//nai), into the termite hill (literally: "land" !hub, "navel" [illegible]) that stands ([illegible] "to sit") there (//na)."

Whereupon the steinbok said: "You (sats, pron.) kindly (re) butt first (xiba)."

[512] Then the lion hurried [over] and butted. But although (gabe) he butted, nothing (tama "not," xub "a thing," neut. sing.) happened ([illegible]). Then the steinbok hurried [over] and butted, and the little pieces (!arun, neut. pl.) of the ([illegible], poss. pron.) termite mound only (/guise, referring to [illegible]) jumped (!af) [around].

[Fig.--Raphicerus campestris (Thunberg). Steinbok ♀.]

The lion was not prepared (mu "to see," -ba objectifying particle, -sen refl. particle) for this, and he ran away (!kxoe-ai). But the steinbok chased behind (!goa) and (the personal suff. -b after !kxoeb gives the vb. a substantive and, hence, subjective character) butted (//gai) him (bi, suff.) in the anus ([illegible], suff. is missing).

[513] [Text omitted]

Translation of LVII

The Lion and the Silver Jackal

The lion assembled (/gai, caus. pass.) the Otocyon megalotis (Desmarest) (//gu, neut. pl.), the jackals (/girin), the silver jackals (!gamaen, cf.

[813]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg). Steenbok ♀

page 454), the "dwarfs" (/ēn), the wolves (/gīn), the cats (/hōan)-- all of them -- and said*: "Which rogue (literally: "which" tari, "child of a genital" tsoras ō̃s, "genital" tsorab = penis) will (nī, fut.) stab (!kō) me (tita, pron.) in the anus (tsoaba) with (/kχā) a hot (/gamas) iron (/uris)?"

And when (o) they (-gu, suff.) had recovered from their fear ("ceased" toa, "to be afraid" !ao), the jackal said: "I (ta, suff.) first (aibe) want to go (ī) to call the child of the sister (!gā, without a suff., kχoïs "human being," fem.) of all (hoa) [men]."* He spoke and stuck ("went" !gūng, "to stick" ≠gī) the iron into (!na) the fire (/aēs) of (di, postpositive gen. particle with the personal suff. of the governing substantive) of the bellows (soasoab) and set out on his way. And when he came to call him, the other said: "Why (taeē = tareē) are you calling me?" He spoke (mī, pret. participle) and wen

Then they arrived, and the lion said: "What rascal will burn (dao) my anus for me (tita, suff.), also a rascal?" However (χabe, with suff.) the silver jackal kept quiet (kχom, "spoke," toma "not"), took (ī) out (≠ui, pret. participle) his little bone pipe (!haïb, -ro dimin.), struck fire (≠nan, vb.) on the tinderbox (dorosa) and smoked (≠gaē) and said: "Whether I do it or not (literally: "I will do" dī, "it in vain" //ause), I (nē, demon. root [514] with the personal suff.) will be caught (!kχō) nevertheless. After all (gum---o), there is only a single (/gui /guis) day of death."* Then he put out (/ari, narr. pass.) his bone pipe and put it away (≠gā, narr. pass.).

Now when the lion was lying (//goē) there like that (//nāti), the silver jackal (-i, old demon. suff.) asked: "Isn't the iron warm?" And the jackal

*To be understood as a provocation to be allowed to commit a murder without punishment.

*This refers to the silver jackal, who best represents his species.

*That is: "After all, I cannot be tormented to death for a long time." Or: "After all, I have got to die sometime." tsēs "day," //ō "to die," substantivized by the personal suffix of the neuter singular.

answered: "It has become warm (the suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. is attached to the particle of the past., go), you child of my good [female] comrade (ʻhos, "coeval"; cf. page 315)." And it was hot, and it looks (i, vb.) like (kχoma) blood (/aob). Then the lion asked again: "What rogue wants to burn my anus?" But the silver jackal answered: "This (ti---ta) "I" rogue will burn your anus." He said it and burned his anus.

Then they chased (saru) each other (-gu, reciprocal particle). Then the lion comes (hã) up, but the jackal dodges (ǂgã) and brushes (ʻ/hore) him in the eyes (mũ, the suff. is omitted before the postposition) [with his bushy tail]. But while the two are carrying on like this (hĩ), the lion became limp (taas). Then the silver jackal leaped (uri) with (ǃ, the verbal origin of the postposition is expressed in the attachéending of the narr. past.) him over a young (ǂkχam) hakjes thorn (!noeba), but the lion jumped too, and they kept on chasing. Then the silver jackal leaped with him over a large (gai) hakjes thorn but there (//nāba) the lion got stuck (hã !ari, "to remain behind alone") and the silver jackal came home (//atu, vb.) alone (!guri).

[515] [Text omitted]

[516] Translation of LVIII

The Fly That Marries the Elephant

The fly (/gĩnas) had been married (!gamehe) to the elephant (ǂkχoaba) and had moved (//ã) to (//ga) the elephant kraal (//gaũs), and there (//nãba, with the full and rarely used suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) she bore (hõ) a daughter (/gõasa). Then (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. -kχa, dual masc.) her two brothers (!gãsakχa) asked (tẽ) of (doba) their mother (//gũsa): "Were we (sikχama, personal pron. of the first pers. dual masc. exclusive) then (ga) not (toma, with the personal suff. of the subj.) born (//ora) along with (/kχa) a sister (!gãsa tarere fem.)?" So they ask. Whereupon (o) the mother: "You (kχo, dual masc.) possess (double vb.: ã "to take," hã "to remain") a sister" says the mother, "but (χabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) she is not here (nẽba): she has married into (ina) a bad (//aiχa) tribe (!haos)," she says. Thereupon the two of them reply: "We will (nī, verbal particle of the fut.) go (!gũng) to (//ga) the bad people there (//nā)." "But you will be killed (!gambe)," says the [mother]. But they both went.

And toward evening (!ui "to become evening," vb.; a verbal particle expressing a condition; here both are connected to form an adv.) they got (ǂi) there just when (hā̃) the little elephant children (-ro, dimin. particle) and the daughter of their (ā poss. root with the personal suff. of the possessor, -kha) sister are throwing (ǂhau "to strike"; see "Children's Games," page 313) the ana sticks (//kraga). And while they are throwing the sticks, the two of them (o, with personal suff., introducing the apodosis) went (hā) into (ǂgā̃, vb.) the bushes. Now [the children] throw--then (o with the masc. personal suff. of the subj.) the stick of the daughter (di, [317] gen. particle) of their sister, who (-s in ǂhaua) had thrown, came (ǂi) to rest (//goë) [where] the two (//(e)ikha, personal pron., 3rd pers. dual masc.) were sitting (ǂnūa, ha indicates the relation to an obj.--here the fly's child). And when she came to take (ū) the stick, she is called (ǂgaihe) [by them] and cuddled (amahe; actually: "made faithful by the smell," //amab, like a puppy, see page 269). And when she had picked up (double vb.: ū "to take" and toa "to cease") the stick, she goes [to the elephant children] and says: "You (sadu, 2nd pers. neut. pl.) who eat (ǂū) mud* (ǂgoab), go to (//ga) the mud! Let (ē, "and," with imperative force) me (-ta), who (tita) drinks (a) milk (daib, neut. sing.), go to the milk." Then the little elephants hurried (!kxoë) to the mud, and the little fly hurried to the milk. And when (o) she got there, she says: "Mother (ais), get up (kxaī) and (ē) come (ǂi) give (mā) me (te) milk!" So she says. (The woman is not sitting in her own hut, but in a neighboring one.) But the mother does not get up, and the [little one] weeps: (ā). Then the mother gets up and goes there and goes to pour (ǂnā, -ha a verbal particle emphasizing the obj.) milk

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*The belief, widespread among the Hottentots that the elephant feeds upon mud can probably be traced to the fact that these colossi rooted up the bed of the Vlei completely whenever they came down to the water in herds, as they used to do. Then they not only drank muddy water, but they carried away so much mud on their feet that in the course of time the water hole became deeper and deeper, as though it had been progressively eaten up.

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for her (si). Whereupon [the little one]: "Mother, I have seen something (xūb); go there, won't you (-re), and see." So she says.

Then she took a thong (!haube) and went and saw (actually: "came to see") the two of them (-khā, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc. in the dat.-acc.). Then she plucked (nora) grass (/gāba) and wrapped (//guisen) the two of them, their two dogs (arikha), everything (hoa) together (/kha) in the grass. Then she brought (double vb.: ā "to go," ū "to take") the two of them to the hut (oms), and in the hut she built (om) a separate hut (/gari "alone," hā "to remain") and told (gai) the two of them to lie down. Then they lay down and warned the dogs (mi "to say," -ba emphasizes the relation to the obj.): "You should (ni) not (tē) drink (ā) like that* (nemi)." So

*Here the narrator imitates the lapping noise of drinking dogs.

they said. But the [sister] asked the old elephant mother: "When (ó) I [illegible] once upon a time (ǂare) married here (nēba), was a here (!gare) kneed (//gaesa adj., here used substantively //gaesa(b)) wether (gūb) slaughtered (ǂkhe) for me* (ta, -ba see above)?" Whereupon [the old woman] said: "You

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*It is a Hottentot custom for the mother-in-law to slaughter a head of cattle when she receives the young wife who moves into her husband's kraal. The daughter-in-law then does the same. If this festive slaughter is omitted by well-situated families, then that is a breach of good form, an unfriendly gesture toward the young wife.

wife (tarase) of my (ti) son,* why (tarexa, with the personal suff. of the subj.)

*The crude conception of the family life which causes the young wife so much suffering is characterized by the words of the old elephant; she does not speak of her son as the man whom she bore (ōai) but whom she conceived in copulation (ā "to complete coitus").

do you suddenly (nē!, "one day") speak of things (xūna) that you (-t in hugas) never (huga, "ever," tama "not") mention?" But the other replied: "I (-ta)

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simply am asking ([illegible])." Then [the old woman] said: "Nothing was slaughtered for [you]," and slaughtered her ([illegible]) a wether. Then [the young wife] cooked ([illegible]) it, and when it is done (//[illegible]), she ladles it ([illegible]) out ([illegible]) into (!na) the wooden dish ([illegible]) ![illegible] for the two waiting (//[illegible] "to lie," -ba objectifying particle) men and places (mai) it before the waiting men.

And the time (//aiba) when the elephant is accustomed to arrive (/[illegible]; literally: "the coming time of the elephant," di gen. particle) is at hand (/na). Then [the fly] warns the two men: "When he, having arrived (hã "to come," ra verbal particle of the perf. participle), belches (!gai, literally: "comes to belch"), then hold your nostrils ([illegible]) shut." (Double vb.: "!khã, "to grasp, [illegible] "to cover") so she says. Then she grinds up ([illegible]) bucho powder* ([illegible], neut. sing.). Then [the old woman] says: "What ([illegible]) sort

*The fragrant powder is supposed to conceal the smell of the brothers which the old elephant mother (who is conceived as being blind) could scent. The fact that the old elephant was not acquainted with the scent of bucho, the national perfume of the Hottentots, is a further illustration of how alien the young wife (here seen as a fly) has remained in the elephant's family.

of smells (//amana, neut. pl.) that I have never sniffed (!khaba) am I getting (hã) to sniff today (ne "on this," [illegible] "day," neut. sing.)?" ([illegible], interrogative particle). But [the fly] replied: "Do you ([illegible], 2nd pers. neut. pl.) think ([illegible], ti "so"), because I married [into your tribe], I should not ([illegible], verbal particle of the fut. negative) make (di) bucho powder for myself (-sen, refl. ending)?" And then it got dark (!khai).

Then the [elephant] came, and while (hã) he came (!gaaga, with the masc. personal suff. -b) he talked ([illegible]) [in order to make himself noticed]. [518] Then [the fly] said [to the child]: "Go out ([illegible]) and (e) report* to you

*The loving pater familias loafs in the fields all day long and comes to the hut only in the evening; however, he does not go in, but only has the child report that everything is in order: "We are doing nothing!" That is: "Nothing has happened."

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father (mubas)." So she said. Then the little fly went out and reported: "We (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl.) are doing nothing (tsia "something," tama "not")." So she said. Then he comes up and comes to lie down beside (tsab "cheek," ri "at") the hut. Then he belched, then he got up (kxai). Then he went off.

But then (ai "at," //aeb "the time," //nā "then") they (-n, suff. of 3rd pers. neut. pl.) tore (//kxoba) down the hut and packed it on a draught ox (!gomab) and tied up (!gai mai) an old (gaira) sheep (gūs) and a blind (≠gi) goat (biris) and a blind cow (gomas)* and went on their way (tē, vb.).

*All the rest of the cattle they drive along as they go.

But the elephant pursued (!gaa !goa) them. But they had told (gai) the daughter to sit (≠hā) backwards (kxaos, "in back," /kxāb "body," !oa "in that direction") on the draught ox; she [sees him] and cries: "Yes (gume), he is coming! (!guexa, expressed passively) [bend as] a wide-branched (//nauxa) giraffe tree (//ganab, neut. sing.), [heavy as] someone who can (-xa, adj. ending) trample shut (tsom) a well (tsaub). He is coming, truly!" she cries. And now they barred (double vb.: ≠//gau "to make a kraal out of branches," ≠gan "to cover") the way (daob) and lay in wait (≠//gob, am) for him (bi).

But at the time when he was going away, [the old mother elephant] said: "My son (ōree, vocative masc.), in case (o tsi ga) you (sats, masc.) are killed, [as a sign of your death] my rear end (kxao aibe) will tremble (gum)!" So she says. And while he is being ambushed, he comes and cries: "I will jump (/gau) [over that], I will jump over it." (i, auxiliary vb.). Then they threw (//hai, expressed passively) the two assegais (goakxa) and the two dogs bite (aa) him to death (!aa, in the sense of "killed," in contrast to //ō "died"). And the sister said: "If you kill the child-maker (//ora "to procreate," aob "man"), then cut (!gao) off (kxai, "to cut something open on the surface, on top") his genitals (/oa aibe)." And when the two of them [sic] had killed him, they cut off [the genitals] and journeyed (doē) home (//ora, "to go home").

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[Text omitted]

Translation of LIX

The Elephant Who Made Servants Of All Sorts Of Beings

The elephant had made servants of four-legged (haga /nib) beasts of prey (*/garune, neut. pl., collective term for all sorts of vicious animals), and every morning (literally: "on which?" mā, -- "on every" hoasa, "morning" //gaas) they (-n in tsin, suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) are urinated on* (/kxam, ai "on").

[22] *So that they may make a good catch--
a curious superstition.

But the white (!uri with euphonious s) "dwarf" (/Eb), who (-ba, suff. in umabe) does not (tama) dig (kxao) a knapsack (//hôba) full (/oa) [of field onions], is drenched over and ove. again (*hôraga) with urine (/ība): the others (*nauna, neut. pl.) are only (/gui [821] "single") urinated on a little bit (*kxtari "little," -ro dimin. particle, -se adverbial ending); then they go (!gang) digging. And the others dig their knapsacks full, but the white dwarf comes (/kxi) with (/kxa) refuse (xū "thing," -ro dimin. particle, i personal suff. of the neut. sing.) which sits (āhōe) there (//nā) in the back (kxaos ai) [of the almost empty sack]. Then they come (hā) along to hand over (mā) [the field onions], and when (-tsī, past. participle) they have finished (toa "to cease") handing over they go. Then when (o) dawn breaks (//gaa), they come and take (ū) the knapsacks and go after (o at the end of the sentence) they (-n in tsahen) are through being urinated on (ta after s is euphonious for ra, verbal particle of progressive action).

Then one (/gui) day (tsē) the white dwarf found (hō) a way out (/abesa): he dug (xoro) holes (āga, masc. pl.) and comes back with very (gai "big," -se adverbial ending) little onions. But when he had finished digging the holes and the time (//aēba, the next morning is meant) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nī, verbal particle of the fut.) to go, he goes (ī) to sit down (āhā) on (ai) a hill (!homi "mountain," -ro dimin.), after (tsī, particle of the past. participle) he had taken an assegai (gūabe), and cried (āgai): "You (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) urinate on me (-te, suff.) today (nē/tsē)!" So he cried.

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Then [the elephant] started (/nobe) after (//ga "toward") the dwarf, but the dwarf escaped (//hai, ni particle of the fut., uniting with the vb. to form one concept, expresses here the anticipation of pursuit). Then he set out after (!kxloé "to run," !gon "behind") him (-bi suff.), but [the dwarf] went (ǂgã vb.) into (!na) a hole. Then the elephant went there and peered (ǂui) into the hole, and after (ni, particle of the pret. participle) he had peered in, he trampled (dã) so that (ga) a cave-in (!kxhomi) might take place--from above (ǂam) he trampled into the hole. But the dwarf leaped (uri) out (ǂnu) and slipped ("went to go into") into another (/kyara) hole. Then the other again (//kxaba) came there (//nãba) and he was stabbed (!kyã) in the heart (ǂgao) by (ga) the dwarf. ---Ever since the dwarfs have lived unharmed in holes in the ground. But their sides have remained whitish-yellow from the daily morning ablution.---

822] [Text omitted]

823] Translation of LX

The Girls Who Visit the Kraal of the Python

The girls (/gõeti) went for a visit (sari, narr. pass.) and Gauinghamabes (see the bottom of page 452 and page 454, number 26) ran after (sao, vb.) her (sa) sister (!gãs), but the girls (expressed by the personal suff. ti) chase her (si, suff.) back (!hai daba). Then she sat down (ǂnũ), and when (o) the others go on (bē) she hastens (!kxoé) after them (!goe) and catches up with them ("comes there"), but they chase her back again (//kxaba). And while (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) she is carrying on (hĩ) like this (//na demon., ti "so," -s personal suff. of the subj. in the protasis), they wandered away (bē) from (xu) the kraal (//gãus). Then they relented (/ũ) and the little one comes along.

Then they come [to the kraal of the snake] and milked (/ao, narr. pass.) milk (daina, neut. pl.) for themselves (-ba, objectifying verbal particle). But Gauinghamabes' cow (gomasa) was tied (!hão, "the rear legs are tied together with a thong") for her (-ba, see above) in front of (ams ai) the hole ("ãb) [in which] the python (gai "big") snake (/aob) sat (ǂnõe), and the hole was covered (ǂnui "to set," ai "on") with (/kxa) cow manure (/horos). Then she was told (gaî) to milk (daru) the milk into her mouth, and she grasped ("!kxõ) the udder (sams) of the cow (di, gen. particle)--then the cow manure moved (gan). Then

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she squeezed (//kxa) the udder of the cow and the cow made a leap (≠ui, vb.). Then she says: "Grandmother" (ti //nanes), the cow is not used to me (ti

*The respectful form of address for the wife and accomplice of the python; the snake is thought of as a male being.

"not to know") and went to the hut. Then fat (//nuib) was given (mā) to them, and they rubbed themselves* (xūkosen). But Gaminghamabes [534]

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*The Hottentots, when they wish to sleep especially well, rub themselves with grease in the evening. The massage accompanying this has indeed a soporific effect. The little girl wishes to remain awake and therefore refuses the service.

does not (tama) want (≠gao. hā expresses here the persistence of the little girl) to rub herself. Then it got dark (!kxai, vb.). Now she took out (ū ≠hui) a little (-ro, dimin.) cutting iron (≠hamib, "a sharpened piece of tin") and sharpened (sau /am) pieces of wood (hain euphonious for -ti). Then the woman asked (ti): "Why (tare abbreviated from tarep) are you (-ts) sharpening pieces of wood?" But the girl says: "Tomorrow (//ari) I (-ta, suff.) want (nī) to break off (ore) gum onions* (≠hūnana, neuter

*An edible species of Babiana (Iridaceae).

plural) with (ū) hard (garo) stalks (hani)."

And when they slept (//om), she went to the hut of the grasshopper (≠hū!aus) and asked at (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) what (mā) time (//aēb) the [python] would come out (!kxai?, particle of indirect discourse). Then the grasshopper said: "At midnight [Fig.--Methone andersoni Stal, ♀ (Oedipopide) from Kubub. Natural size.] (tsuxub ge) probably (ga, potential), if (o) a cool (garo) breeze (≠oab "wind," -ro dimin.) is blowing (!gom), he comes." Thereupon Gaminghamabes went to lie down, lit (kxau) a fire (/aes) in order to heat up (//kxãe//kxãe) the earth all around, and a broom (//kxoros) and the pieces of wood and a hard (gaross) bodkin (≠goas) -- all of this (tsī "and," -na neut. pl.)

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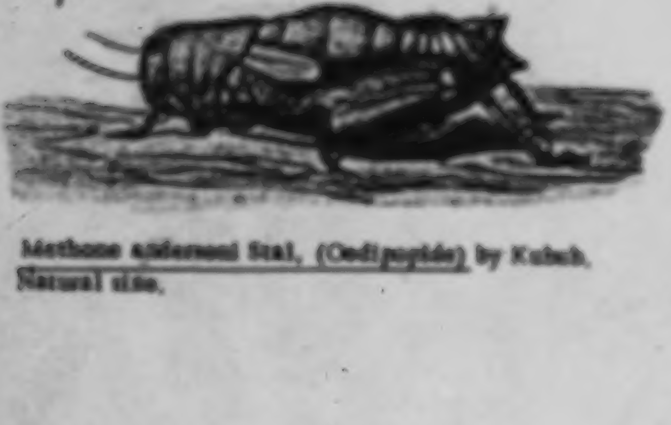
[illegible]



Methone anderssoni Stal, (Oedipodide) by Kulub,
Natural size.

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she makes ready (ai "to take") and lies down [just inside] the entrance (amz "mouth") to the hut.

And the cold breeze was blowing, and she got up (kxai and mã) and sat down (ãni). Then the snake (expressed by the personal suff. -b, acc. bi, which is attached to ni just as succinctly as the girl, as the subj. or, respectively, obj. is designated by the following -s and si) came, and Gamsinghamabes stabbed (!kxã) it and the snake struck at Gamsinghamabes, but she warded (//kxam) him off with the hard bodkin and stabbed him and covered (?gao) him with hot earth (?[illegible]) and killed (!gam) him. Then she laid the animal (bi, see above) [[illegible]] on the place (!kxais) where (the entire relative sentence here, just as usual, precedes the related substantive without a relative pronoun) it sits down after (ni, particle of the past participle after [illegible] "to come") it has finished killing people. Then she woke ([illegible] "to awaken," doubled: "to wake") the girls (kxoetis "people," fem. pl.), and they went away, and while (hã, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were going away the morning (//goase) came, (//goe).

But the others (the people in the kraal of the snake, expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -n) were milking the cows and the sun (sores) went up high (double vb.: //hai and /gãb). Then [the wife of the slain snake] said to the small snake (anngyenasb, see page 454, number 30): "Go wake up your (sa, stem of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem., used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) grandfather (//nuob). The girl who has eyes everywhere (literally: "turns" dale "and looks" gã) was there, and for that reason (xuigye) [I am worried]," she said. Then the other one went to wake and said*: "My grandfather

*The snake called anngyenasb is portrayed as a comical figure: its stupidity is revealed by the fact that it regards the distorted eyes of the slain python as an expression of bad humor. In her the Hottentot also ridicules the inferior grief of a parasite who mourns for his benefactor only because his own good times are now at an end.

looks (//ui) at me (te) askance!" Then the wife herself (aitsama) came up and saw that the snake [lay] dead (//ō) and said: "Your grandfather has

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been killed by (xa) the girls who slept here (nĩba) yesterday evening (//am !oë)." Whereupon the said snake: "My grandfather, who always gives me (indicated by the objectifying particle -ba, which here is extended into a bowl) only (/guise "single," referring to ≠kgba "bones") bones with much fat (gaob "fat," -Xa, expressing the quantity, /kãb "body")!" So it howled (ĩ).

But when the [grasshopper] heard (//nau, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that, [it said]: "If it were only true (ama), that he lies on the ground! (Literally: "that her back" !gãb, "is deep" "!gaʃma). If it were only true, that he is lying on the ground!" Thus she speaks in rhythm, just as the butter calabash rolls (literally: "thus she churns," //nubu). Then the snake's wife asked (ĩã): "Grasshopper, what ("taēi : tared) are you saying there?" (ti, with the personal suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. fem.). But she [answered]: "For a worthy (/gari) man standing there (mã) alone (/guise, adv.) [526] a head of cattle (literally: "a thing," masc.) is indeed (gum---s) slaughtered ("ai/kʒã) as a death sacrifice, I said."*

*The ambiguity of these words -- grief for the deceased or joyful anticipation of the funeral feast -- is an intentional insult.

But when the girls got home (//aru, vb.), and at the same time the reed dance (ãu) was being blown (χai), they hung (ǂgã and maĩ "to set") up the buchu sacks ("!gaute, fem. pl., see the bottom of page 240) and went (!gũng) to the reed dance. Then the wife of the snake comes and slips (hã "to come along," ǂgã "to go into") into Gatsinghamabes' buchu sack. Then Gatsinghamabes looked for (ōa) the buchu sack and saw and said: "My (ti) buchu sack is not so (ti) full (/oa)!"* and takes a stick and

*That is: "My buchu sack was not so full when I left it here. Something isn't quite right."

fetches it down (ǂkxora, //nã), and she sticks the buchu sack into the fire. Then the snake's wife died.

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[Text omitted]

Translation of LXI

The Girls Who Went to the Honey-Eater, to the Dwarf and to the Anagyegaieb Beetle to Dance the Reed Dance with Them

The girls (/gōasi), when (o) the men (kxoikgu "people," masc. pl.) took (š) the reed pipes (ahte, fem. pl.) and [SIT] went away (!gūng, a is a particle of the present tense here), had gone also in order (ai, fut. particle, ga, potential particle) to play with them (ʻa·ru, narr. pass.). Then the others blew (ǂai) [on the reeds]. But the dung beetle blew: "Today (nē tsē) they will spatter themselves (-sen, refl. particle) with their blood (/ao)."*

> *) sani, verb, means: a) the rapid headshaking of cattle and horses; b) the similar movement of the hand when one is sprinkling water. Hence: "to spatter."

But Gatatighamabes understood it well (//nāū "to hear," !ā "to spread, to explain") and took the [other] girls [with her] and hurried away (be, vb.). Then they went (ti) into (!na) an aardvark (/kxabu) cave (ǂhi), they went in (ǂgā, verb) and closed (ǂgao "to cover," am "mouth") the opening with (/kxa) a spider web (/nūi !kxami). But when the honey-eater looks [in] (gō, ta euphonious for ra), they open (//kxabe am). Then the honey-eater cries: "There (//nā) they sit (ǂnōa). There they sit, the children (ōati) of the great (gai, with the suff. of the relative substantive because it follows the noun) dirt-scum crust (!hai̋b) genitals (!garagu)."

[Fig.--An ǂanagyeǂgaieb beetle (see page 456, number 39).

Then the others (ʻnaugu) look in, but the girls close [the cave again immediately] with the spider web. Then the others cry: "Oh (kxa), you (satsa) are lying (ǂhumi) indeed (gum---o)." -- "By God! ("for the sake of" ao, "my" ti, "lord" !kxūb) the girls are sitting there," the honey-eater answers. But the others said: "You stay (hā) here, and (ē, with the personal suff. of the subj.) we (sigye, pron. of the 1st pers. masc. pl. in the exclusive form) will go!" (With imperative force). And they went [to the water].

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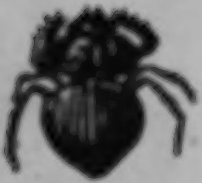
[p.327]



A ǂnagyudgaib beetle.
(See page 456, number 39.)

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But the girls came out ([illegible], vb.) when only (/gui[illegible]) the honey-eater had remained behind (!gāu) and [jeered]: "You will die of thirst! ("//ā̃, "to be thirsty," -si gives the vb. a causative force, sa "you are," //ō "to die"). So (x̄āxe) run and (with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed) go drink (ā) water (//gamā, acc. sing.)!" Then he went and the girls hurried away.

[Text omitted]

[538]

Translation of LXII

The Ostrich and the Tortoise

With the ostrich and the tortoise it happened like this (literally: --, "the two of them were made" hīhe). The ostrich said: "Of (xa) the two of us (sakkum, pron. of the 1st pers. masc. dual in the inclusive form) I (ta, suff., and tita, pronoun) will (nĩ) run (!khoē) the fastest (!garise, adv.)."

Then the tortoise called (ǂgai) [all] tortoises together (/hao "to assemble") and told (ge) them to line up (mā̃) one behind the other (saogu). Then the two of them joined and hurried off together (//are, vb.).

But as soon as ("tsuni ai) they were just beginning (tsoatsoa, nĩ fut. particle), the tortoise (-b, personal suff. after tai) let the ostrich (bi, suff., "him") run alone (//nā̃ "to let," xo "to leave"). Then the ostrich called: "Tortoise!" And the one [standing nearest to him] answered: "Here!" (hē, a general careless cry of answer). Then the ostrich thought (ǂai, with the particle of the pret. participle tai, ti "so") that it was already ("nukobe) nearby (/gãse) and hurried on. And when (o) he was exhausted ("came to the point" si, "that he was finished" toa, vb.) again (//kxaba), he called: "Tortoise!" And the one [standing nearest to him] answered: "Here!"

Then he stopped (/ū, pret. participle) and came (/kxī) to (dobe) the tortoise [that stood closest to him]. And the two of them went home (//are, vb.). But (xabe, with the personal suff. of the subject) he thought that it was truly (/guib, "single") the other ("nau) tortoise.

[535] [Text omitted]

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Translation of LXIII

The Tortoise and the Eland Antelopes

And it happened ([illegible], "was made") [like this]: The tortoise (masc.) had gone (//gama, narr. pass.) to the water and while ([illegible]) he sits there ([illegible]) and scoops, ([illegible]) eland antelopes (fem.) come ([illegible], narr. pass.) and say: "Tortoise, pour ([illegible], vb.) some for me (te, suff.)." However ([illegible], with personal suff.) he kept quiet ([illegible] "to speak," tama "not," ha expresses duration).

Then they said: "In just a moment ([illegible]) I (ta, suff.) will ([illegible]) swallow you ([illegible], suff.)."

But she replied: "Just ([illegible]) try ([illegible]) to do ([illegible]) it, let ([illegible], "and," with imperative force) me see ([illegible])."

Then they said: "You ([illegible], suff. of the IInd pers. masc. pl.) look ([illegible]) like ([illegible]) little things (-ro, dimin.) that ought ([illegible], fut.) to be swallowed (-he, pass. ending), and yet you are defiant ([illegible])!"

[536] Whereupon the tortoise: "Who ([illegible]) is stopping ([illegible]) you ([illegible], suff. of the IInd pers. pl. fem.) then ([illegible])? Whoever wants ([illegible]) to try ([illegible], verbal particle of the potential, with the personal suff. of the fem. sing.) to swallow [me], can swallow any time ([illegible]), after all ([illegible])." Thus the tortoise spoke.

Then one ([illegible]) [of the elands] swallowed him ([illegible], masc. suff.) down. But the [tortoise] spread his legs ([illegible]) and: "Grrr -- bandy legs! ([illegible], neut. sing.) -- choked!" -- Tortoise! -- choked!" the

[illegible], imitating the choked condition of animal suffocating from the tortoise, the narrator intentionally falsely pronounces: [illegible]

eland said and died ([illegible]). Then the tortoise cut ([illegible]) out ([illegible]) the stomach fat ([illegible]) and hung it up ([illegible], vb.) and went home ([illegible], vb.). But the sisters ([illegible] - -ti) avoid ([illegible], "to be clean." The objectifying particle -ba gives it the force: "to be clean with regard to someone," that is "to avoid someone who is unclean") him because of ([illegible]) his ([illegible]) armpit sweat ("/haab). Then he came (ī) to the kraal (//gāūs) and they saw that (!kxaib) he had (ī "to take," "hā "to remain") stomach fat and they said: "Today (nē tsē) we (se, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. fem.) will fix up (dī) your (ts, masc. suff.) armpits (gam, collective sing.) [with buchu powder]."*

*The sisters, up until now, have neglected their brother, the tortoise; they have neglected to prepare powder for him (woman's work) and now, at the sight of the rich booty, they try to endear themselves.

But he said: "It has been a long time (hoga, adv.) since you (so, suff. of the 2nd pers. fem. pl.) have fixed up my armpits."

And they replied: "Today we will powder your armpits." Then he gave (mā) them fat (gaona, neut. pl.) and they went (!gūng) off together (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) to cut up the eland.

[Text omitted]

[531] Translation of LXIV

The Giraffe Who Marries a Fly

A giraffe (!naīs) married (!game, narr. pass.) a male fly (/gīnabe), and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) moved (doē) to (//ga) the kraal (//gāūs) of the man (kxoeb) and came (ī) there. And when (o) she longed (//kxoee) for her (ā, stem of the poss. pron., -sa personal suff. of the possessor, -s personal suff. of the subj.) relatives (kxoīn "people," neut. pl.), she told (mī, with objectifying particle ba) her husband and went (!gūng) to visit them with (/kxa) her child (/gōas "daughter"). And the two of them set out on their way and came to (doba) the kraal of the jackal (/gīrib). And she gave (mā) the child some fat (gaona) from (xu) her caul*

*This self-sacrificing motherly love of the giraffe reminds one of the classical legend of the pelican that nursed its young with its own blood.

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(/haub is the very fatty omentum majus). Then the jackal saw (mũ) [how fat she was], and when the giraffe went out (≠oa, with personal suff.) he stuck (mai) thorns (//kχũga) into (!na) the bed (kχaosib). Then she came in (≠oaχa) and lay down (≠nũ). Then the thorns stuck (!kχã) her (si, suff.) and she said: "The thorns that stuck me, the child of man (kχoeta, with the suff. of the 1st pers. sing.), do not (tama) taste (tã) like (kχoma) the thorns (neut. pl.) of my fathers (*abob, rarely used word for father. -γaa See page 428, footnote)." So she said and died.

Then the jackal (expressed by the suff. -b) cut (≠ã) her up. But the little (-ro dimin.) fly flew (fli, borrowed from Cape Dutch) and seated herself on a giraffe tree (//ganas). And the other, after (tsi, particle of the pret. participle, after tsa "to cease") he had finished slaughtering, [536] laid (//gui) the pieces of meat (//gaoga, masc. pl., euphonious form) on the giraffe tree (a customary way of protecting meat from scavengers, see page 426). Then the little fly took (ũ, pret. participle) the smallest rib (*!gaoi gao/aras) and flew and came with it (a) to the father (//guib). But he put (≠gī) the rib in a calabash (abas) [with milk] and [the little girl] told (!hoa, with objectifying verbal particle) him (bi, suff.). Then he was afraid (!ao) of the jackal and did not go there. But the giraffe became alive (ũiraba) again (//kχaba).*

*The miraculous power of reviviscence of milk also brings about a happy end in Folktale VIII, page 409.

[Text omitted]

Translation of LXV

The Jackal Who Roasts the Iguana

The jackal (/girib) had hunted (!auhe, narr. pass.) [and] caught (hõ, again pass.) the iguana (!nomaba) and (tsĩ) came (/kχĩ, pass.) home (//aru "to come home") at the time when (hĩa) the people (kχoi'n) were blowing (γaĩ. -ta = ra, altered euphonically after the n of the preceding word) the reed dance (≠haa). And he put (//gui, narr. pass.) [it] in (!na) the fire (/aēs) under the ashes (*ga/*n "to cover with ashes") and went (!gũng, narr. pass.) over (//ga) to the reed dance.

But just as (hĩa) he comes ("to come" sī, "to stand" mã) [and] blows, the iguana (!gon) who (-ba after go, particle of the pret.) had been put under the ashes came after him and said: "Yes (gumo), [533] because (ao) the other one (/nĩ, the jackal is meant) has left* his treasure, then (-tsī, pret. participle) he (//(e)ī, the leguan[1] himself is meant) takes (hora, "to take the cooked food out of the pot or the fire") himself (-sen, refl. ending of the vb.) out of the fire."

And the jackal heard (//naũ) it and comes up (hã), seizes (!kχõ) him (bi) and takes him along (double vb.: "to go -- to seize," !gũng-ũ) and places him again (//kχaba) in the fire under the ashes. Then he runs again to the reed dance and goes again to blow the reeds.

Then the iguana comes again and says: "Yes, because the other one has put away his treasure secretly, it takes itself out of the fire."

--The legend is an attempt to illustrate the tenacity of the iguana to give an explanation for its crustlike skin (which looks as though it were baked on). --

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!gũng "to go," ≠nũi "to put down," to put down and go = to leave, also to put away. I have not been able to find out the meaning of ≠gũsa; nor can I vouch for the correctness of the clicking sound since I neglected to check it. /gũsa !gũng ≠nũi seems to be a set idiom with the meaning: to leave behind something valuable that one is unwilling to give someone else. Thus the jackal left his roast, the iguana, in the ashes. In the same sense a newly-wed guide who was in a hurry to get home said to me: "*≠gũsa !gũng ≠nũi tsĩta go !gũng χui aota gye !haise ra oa ≠gao." That is: "Because (χuí) I (-ta) went (!gũng go, particle of the pret.), having (tsī, pret. participle) left something valuable behind, so (ao) I wish (≠gao) to turn back (oa) rapidly (!haise)."

[1] [i.e., the lizard -Analyst]

[Text omitted]

[534]

Translation of LXVI

The Baboon and the Honey Badger

The baboon (-i, see page 476, footnote; χa see footnote page 487) once had taken out (sam, narr. pass.) honey (danisa), and the honey badger had collected (ū "to take") haira resin (neut. pl.), and the two of them met (!oa, -gu reciprocal particle). Then the baboon said: "You (-tse) let (ha) me (-ta) have a taste (tsãtsã)," and the honey badger said: "First (aibe) let me taste yours."* Then the baboon gave (mā) him (bi, suff.) a very (≠kχari) little (-ro, dimin.) honey, and he took a taste. Then the baboon said: "I would like (-re, optative particle) to taste yours," and the honey badger gave him some. Then they hit (≠nau) each other with (/k[illegible]) the sacks (//hōti) until (tumi, "so") they spit* (/kχũi; !nã[illegible] "to be bright, to lie open"). And the baboon spit out (≠ui) the honey and the honey badger the haira resin, and the baboon took the haira sack and the honey badger the honey sack, and then the two of them went.

Since then (tsēs "by day") the honey badger eats (≠ũ, substantivized by the fem. personal suff. -sa, but felt nevertheless still to be a pred., as the verbal particles ra and, euphonically, ba show) honey and the baboon haira resin.

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*) sa, root of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers., used in a poss. sense by supplying a gen. particle and substantivized by attaching the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. Grammatically complete, but not existing in practice, the concept "yours" would be: sa di χũa

*Because that which they had just tasted seemed so good to them that they no longer wanted to keep their old food.

[Text omitted]

[535]

Translation of LXVII

The Two Zebra Mares and the Baboon

With the zebra mares (-ra, personal suff. of the fem. dual) and the baboon it happened (hīhe, "was made") like this: The zebra mares come to the water (//gama, verb. narr. pass.). But the baboon makes iron (//urite, fem. pl. = -ti) hot (/gam/gam, verb. narr. pass.) and comes forth (/kχi, narr. pass.) when (o) he sees (mũ) the zebras approaching (!goaχa, narr. pass.) and cries: "After all (χabe) the water expanse with the grassy edge (/gariχa "rich in plants," amî "mouth, opening") is mine (ti) indeed (gum---o)." Then the two of them turn back (oa) and come [again] on the next (°nau) day (tsē). But the baboon comes (sī) along with (/kχa) the irons when he sees them approaching (two personal suffixes are attached to the vb.: -ra shows, so to speak, the subj. of the vb. and -b the subj. of the sentence) and cries: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me." Then the two of them turned back.

And the young (≠kχamsa) [zebra] foaled (õa "to bear") a colt (masc.), and they all (expressed by the suff. of the neut. pl. -n) came again (//kχaba) early (//goaga) the next morning. But the other cried: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me." Then they went back. And they waited (hã) until (gôse) the colt should become (nī, fut. particle) big (gais, the s is probably an abbreviated form of the adj. ending sa), and when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis [on) the colt had become big they went to the water. Then the baboon came down (//gõaχa) with the iron, and when they appeared he cried: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me."

[536] But they remained standing (mã) and the little (-ro, dimin.) zebra stallion (-ba, masc.) trotted (!naē) down (°//gonaχa is probably the older form of //gõaχa, with transformation of the n into a nasal sound), and the two mares followed (sao) the little stallion: he came (hā) up and drank (ā). Then the baboon burned (dao) him (bi, suff.) here (nēba). *

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*The narrator points to the processus ulnaris humeri of his arm.

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But he seized (*!kχō) the baboon and placed (ǂnũi) him firmly (//gaĩ "to press") on (ai) the irons. Since that day the rear end (kχaoais) of the baboon is roasted (//an "to be done," -sa adj. ending, -sa fem. personal suff. substantivizing the word; cf. page 539) and (tsĩ has here in the genitive cas the suff. of the substantive governed by the subj., not the personal suff. of the subj.) the elbows (*!uriti) of the zebra are scorched (daũ "to burn").

[Papio porcarius (Boddaert) from the rear, demonstrating the posterior welts.]

---In this way the Hottentots' phantasy explains the origin of the posterior welts (see the illustration) and of the so-called "chestnuts," those bare callosities to be found on the inner surface of the carpus of the zebra.--

[Text omitted]

[537] Translation of LXVIII

The Jackal Who Keeps Leopards and Lions as Cattle

The jackal had made (dĩ, narr. pass.) cattle (/goa, without suff.) of th leopards and lions, all of them (tsĩ "and," -na personal suff. of the neut. pl.), and his (ã, stem of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the poss.) child (*/gõaseb = /gõab) guards (!ũi) the cattle (neut. pl.). Then, when (c) it was milking (daru, with personal suff., ta euphonious for ra) [milk from one of the animals] into its mouth, it was clawed (χora) half dead (gā "to be lost," the reduplication gives the vb. causative force) by (/kχa) its claws (//gorogu), and when it came (/kχī, with personal suff., ta = ra) [home] the jackal asks (tẽ):* "What (tareï) have you gotten (ǂgã) into (!na, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. -ts "you")?" [538] So (tami) he asks, and the child answers: "The goats (birigu) have scratched me (te, suff.)." But only (/guiba) the child continues (ra) to milk (/ao) the goats (fem. pl.).

*Although he knows well that he is guilty. He himself is very careful not to come into contact with his dangerous cattle.

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Papio procarius (Boddaert) from the rear, demonstrating the posterior welts.

But one (/gui) day (tsē), when it (–b in /aob) had gone (!gũng) to milk, it was seized (*!kχō) by (χa) the lion. Then the father (//guba) called (≠gai) it, and it answered (oē): "Father" (dada). But the wife (tarasa) [of the jackal] was worried (*!huma !na) and said: "Usgyeb's (folk tale name of the jackal child) father (ĩb) should (nĩ) kindly (go) see (gō) about Usgyeb." Then the jackal went (≠oaχa) out (χu) of the hut (omsa), but he went along (ī, "to go past") behind (!gāba) the kraal (!haras) and called [for the child only]. And this (nē) time (!nãsa) the child answered only very weakly (≠kχari, "small," –ro dim. –se adv. ending). Then the wife went out and called the husband (aoba) while (hĩa) he is standing (mã) behind (ai "in" !gãb "back") the kraal. And he came (/kχī) and the two of them (–ra, suff. of the masc.-fem. dual) went in. Then the lion leaps (≠ham) at them (–ra), but the two of them leaped (uri) on (ai) the wall of the kraal, and the child slipped out of the kraal in back (!noros "the back of the head").

Meanwhile (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj.) Hottentots (naman) came and asked (≠gan) for food (≠ūē, neut. sing.). Then the jackal said: "Usgyeb, come out and (ē, with imperative force and with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) show (//gau) this man a wether (gūē, neut. sing.) and may he (–b) take (ū) [it]." And the child told him (bi, suff.) [where to look]; then it became quiet* (!nō). And again (//kχaba) two (/gam) men (kχoēkχa, "people," masc. dual) came and asked: "Where (maba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) is (hã) the man whom we sent (sĩ) here (nēba)?" So they asked, but the jackal said: "Some time ago (/nai), indeed (gum---o), I told (gai) the man there (//nēba) to catch a wether." Then the two went into the kraal.

But the jackal went out [of the hut] and stood (sĩ "went," mã "to stand") in the dark (!kχaēb). And when the two men had gone in, the lions and leopards, all of them, sprang out on all sides (/kχãgu, ī "to be like," kχumi "so"). [539] Then the jackal said: "Far across (*goro am) the lands (!hũgu)!" And they hastened (!kχoē) away (bē, vb.).

Then the jackal opened (//kχoba am) the kraal in order (ga) to slaughter (≠à) the little (–ro dimin.) lions and the little leopards, all of them (tsĩ with the personal suff. of the obj., 3rd pers. neut. pl. –na, and with the personal suff.

*The man is ripped to pieces by the wild animals in the kraal.

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of the subj. -b) completely (toa "to end"), and he caught a little one. But they scratched (/kχau) his body (/kχãb). Then he stopped (/ũ) and fled (!kχoẽ-nĩ) to (ai, postpositive, !aba "to climb up") a mountain (!homs). And all (hã, see footnote, page 424) the leopards and all the lions came to look for (oã) their young, and each one (literally: "which?" mã: "all" hoaẽ, neuter singular) took (ũ) his (//(e)ĩr) child (õa) and went.

So they did (hĩ). Since that day the leopard and the lion are at home (hãsa, substantivized hã "to remain") in every land.

3) Riddles, /urogu

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Along with folk tales riddles form a good part of the evening entertainment of the Hottentots; they are posed by the old and young of both sexes.

The simplest riddles refer to the immediate surroundings of the audience (I-V): any object that is visible to all -- an article of clothing, a tree, a rock, an implement, etc. -- is defined according to shape or color or according to its relation to man and given as a riddle. (VI-XIII)

Other riddles have as their object not immediate sensory impressions but sense recollections, and hence they make more demands on the imagination than the above-mentioned ones.

Riddles like those given in Numbers XIV-XXV appeal to the capacity of combining more or less abstract concepts.

From a linguistic point of view the personal suffices are noteworthy: by means of these the entire interrogative sentence of the riddle is substantivized. Generally the suffixes of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. (-ẽ or -ĩ) or pl. (-na or -n) are used for this purpose. They are added to one or more words which, as a result of their meaning or their position in the sentence, [540] are stressed in some way. This characteristic might be correctly but clumsily expressed in translation by introducing every question with the words: "What is it that . . . etc.?"

In other cases the interrogative sentence of the riddle receives the personal suffix that, in gender and number, fits the substantive expected in the answer.

If the answer is expressed by a verb, then it is substantivized by means of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. fem. (-s or -sa).

I have heard the Hottentots pose the following riddles:

[Translator's note: In the case of each riddle the Hottentot text will be tacitly omitted without indication.]

I

What (tareē), so it is said (goma), is this: On the edge (am !gã) of a red (/aba) valley furrow (!garib is the slope of the dry wadi bottom toward the trench in which the water runs) stand (mã) white (!uri) things? (-na, personal suff. of the neut. pl.). -- The teeth.

II

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj) a black (ǂnũ) mountain (!homs) stand (mã) black sheep (gūte = gūti, fem. pl.)? -- Head lice.

III

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) something round (!gubu) stands (mã) grass (/gāna, neut. pl.), and people (kχoēna) pick (tsuru) the grass? -- The head [that is being clipped].

IV

What is (-he, pass. ending) counted (!gõa) and not (toma) counted to a finish (toa "to finish")? -- Grains of sand (!hûb, "soil").

[541]

V

What do you see (mũ), although (χabe) it may (ga, potential) be dark (!kχaē), it may be far (!nũ) and it may be near (/gũ). (tsĩna, neut. pl. summarizing all the cases once again). -- Fire.

VI

What is black (≠nũ) checked (/hõ)? -- The zebra (goreb) and the porcupine (!noab), one (/guib) of (di) the two (tsĩkχa).

VII

What is marked (//gani) yellow (!huni) brown? -- The kudu.

VIII

What is a little (–ro, dimin.) pale (/hai), and when (o) you (–ts, suff.) see (mũ, ga particle of the potential) it from (χu) afar (!nũse, adv., –ba, demon. particle of place) red? (/aba) -- The gemsbok.

IX

What is spotted?-- the skunk.

X

What is red (/aba) with a white (!uri) belly? (!nàba, •–ĩ adj. ending) -- The steinbok.

XI

[822] What is blue (≠hoa) with a crooked (!hoa) belly? (!nãba, •–ĩ adj. ending) -- The coffee bean. [Older Hottentots have stilll not adopted the 'f', sound but the younger ones quite generally say koffi. The color designation is peculiar.]

XII

What has (ū "to take," hā̃ "to remain") a big (gai) light (!nãba)? -- The mirror, because it is blinding if one plays with it in the sun. Mirror = the thing (χūs, fem.) in which one (-n, personal suff. of the neut. pl.) views (gō) one's face.

XIII

What is this: a round (!gubu) thing (χūē, neut. sing.), and next to it (//nāba) sits (*≠nõa) a round thing, and in (!na) the thing there (//nā) sits a box (dorosa). Then again (//kχaba) comes something black (≠nū), then comes something that looks (ī) like (kχoma) grass (/gãĩ, neut. sing.), then comes a round thing, and when (o) the thing falls (//nāĩ, ga, particle of the potential) on (ai) a person (kχoēĩ), this person will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) become alive (≠gau) again? -- The bullet (/urib is metal in general) [in the cartridge].

The parts enumerated in the question are, in the same sequence as above, and with the customary designation in parentheses, the following: a) the metal back surface of the cartridge (kχaoaib "the seat"), mentioned twice in order to complicate the solution; b) the priming (≠ais "metal bead"); c) the powder (χurub "coal"); d) the wad (!abis is the nest of a species of Aegithalus, built of a fleecy plant substance); e) the bullet.

[543]

XIV

What do you (-ts, suffix) make full (//ā//ā, vb.) and then let (gai) go hungry (!ā) again (//kχaba)? -- The gun (!abu "to pop, to puff"), [which is loaded and then, after the shot, put aside empty.]

XV

What is this: when (o) you (-ts, suff.) see (mũ, ga particle of the potential) it, it seems (ī, vb., kχoma "like") to be very (tsĩ) easy (//aune "for nothing," that is "without effort") to catch (*!kχō), and yet (χabe) you will never (tite, particle of the fut. negative, tā = toma "not," tsē "day") catch it? -- The shadow.

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XVI

Who does not (toma) help (kχam) him who (–ba, personal suff.) walks along (garu) without her (/guri "alone")? -- The sun: [it points out snakes and poisonous creatures on the traveler's way, but at night he must rely upon himself.

XVII

What is this: when (tsī̃, particle of the pret. participle with the personal suff. –ts "you," masc.) you have gone away (!gũng) without (ose, adv.) it (//(e)ī̃ī), your way is not (toma) pleasant (!gaīse)? -- Fire [making equipment] [the tinder box].

XVIII

What is made (dī, pass.) by (χa) man (kχoēī, neut. sing.) although (χabe) it also (//kχadi) comes (/kχī) by itself (aitsoma)? [544] -- Water. [Digging wells almost always is called "making water" even by the whites in South Africa. That which "comes by itself," is rain.]

XIX

What (tareē) makes a long (!nūū "far") way (daoba) short? (/gū "to be close"; doubled: "to make near") -- the horse, [because it is fast].

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What makes a short way long? The trek oxen, the riding oxen, [because they are slow].

XXI

What does not (toma, with personal suff.) catch up (sao "to follow," //are "to come together") with itself (–gu) although (χabe) one hastens along (!kχoē) behind (!gon) the other (–gu, reciprocal particle, with the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. –n in !gongun)? -- Wagon wheels (/nūb, masc.: "leg," –s, fem.: "wheel").

XXII

What is very small (≠kχari, –ro dimin.) and yet (*!anaga) brings (hā "to come," ū "with") only (/gui "single," neut. pl.) things (χūn) that are bigger (!nā "to tower over, to excel")? -- Money.

XXIII

What is troublesome (tsũ) to (–sa, gerundive ending) do (dī), but (*!anaga) pleasant (!gaī) to sit (≠nū) in front of (*!ã, postpositive)? -- Work (sīsen, vb.) and its pay (marīē "money," hō "to receive").

[Plate XVII -- An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man; an old Topnaar Hottentot woman.]

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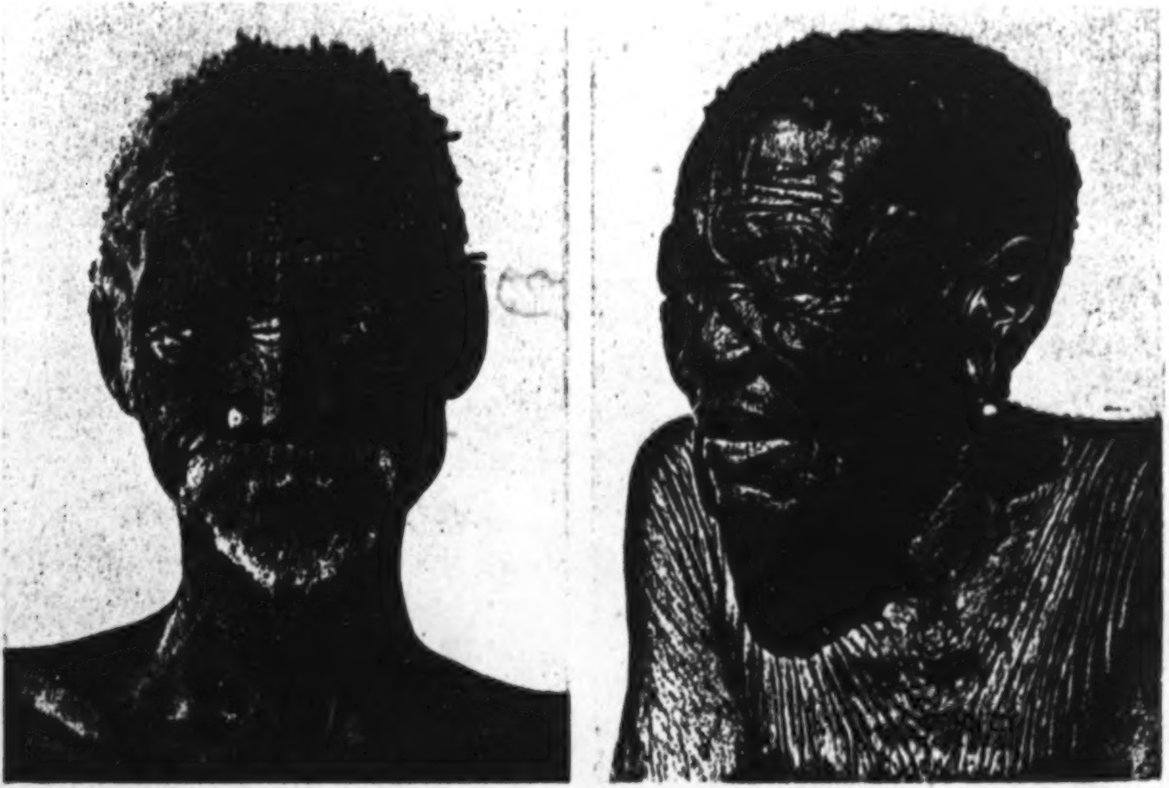
XXIV

What is this: When (o, with the personal suffix of the subj. in the apodosis, –tsa "you") it has gone (bē) away, you have heart pangs (tsũ, vb., ≠gaoba "heart"); then you forget (/uru) it, but (χabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) when you think of it (≠āī), you get heart pangs? -- A deceased person (//ō "to die," χu "to leave," he pass. ending, –s the personal suff. which substantivizes the infinitive).

1: Schultze--317A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama



An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man; an old Topnaar Hottentot woman [544a]

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XXV

What is this: when (o) you (-tsa, personal suff.) see (mū̃) it from (χu) afar (!nū, -se adverbial ending, -bā demon. particle); it is blue (ǂhoa), and white (!uri) things (χū̃n, neut. pl.) are (hā̃) on it (ai, with pass. ending and personal suff.), but when you (-ts) have come (hā) up close (/gū), it is transparent (!anu "clean, clear")? -- The sea.

E) Concluding Remarks

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The Hottentots' Relation to Invading Culture

How does it happen that a people like the Hottentots, which has given clear evidence of an intelligence that has long been recognized and that is outstanding among the aborigines of South Africa, melts away like wax on a hot plate before the invasion of culture? The process of this dissolution up to the present date has been recorded in descriptions of peace and war (75, 73, 82)*. Here we are interested solely in the principle of the matter.

*75. C.V. François. Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi. Berlin, 1899.

73. H.V. François. Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

82. K. Schwabe. Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin, 1899.

The first contact of a Hottentot tribe with culture took place in a generally friendly manner; all travelers of the past praise the hospitality of the people and the protection which the chieftains gave them against the attacks of individuals. The Hottentot expected and, at first, also found his advantage: the trader brought him clothes and blankets, so that he himself now no longer needed to tan them laboriously from hides and to sew them with sinew thread; the trader brought him household implements which spared him the necessity of making pottery [546] and carving wood. In

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addition there were luxuries: in part ones that had been highly valued for years, like alcohol, now in a new concentrated form; and in part new ones such as tobacco and coffee, which became so popular that they now can scarcely be dispensed with. But the factor that above all others caused the Hottentot to react peacefully to invading culture was the realization that with its help he could multiply his own power in a hitherto unknown fashion: exchanging the bow for the rifle suddenly made him master of all living things and equal in battle to his enemies.

The mission, which sold weapons on a large scale, as well as the German government, which permitted traders to deal in weapons after the protectorate in the north had been seized, gave the Hottentots still further guarantees which likewise brought him willingly closer to culture: the Hottentot soon realized that in the missionary he had a friend upon whom he could depend absolutely in all cases. The government, for its part, made treaties of protection with the chieftains, who were all the more agreeable to these since they did not curtail their own power, at least temporarily.

The Hottentot also expected advantages from the white settler--from the land sales and from the taxes that he levied upon the settler and from the annexations he occasionally undertook of land which the white man had brought under cultivation by hard toil.

In Great Namaland certain regions still lay fallow in which the white man, without taking anything from the native, could settle; but in the course of time it inevitably reached a point when the Hottentot saw himself being hemmed in, whereas formerly he had had at his disposal meadow and water in proportion to his power. Through his chieftains he would probably have had the power to definite advantageously his own spheres of interest and those of the alien race, but he did not have the ability even before he began to feel himself being hemmed in.

The chieftains looked out only for their own interests and they proved themselves very clearly to be what they are: selfish tyrants, not representatives of tribal interests--unless the interests of the tribe coincided with their own. So it was not possible for the white government, which in the meantime had established itself and which was filled with the genuine desire to give everyone his just due, to do anything but limit the autocracy of the chieftains. That has been the main cause of all our Hottentot wars. Temporarily [547] the tyrannical desires of the apparently tame rulers, who decked themselves out with the names of the apostles, prophets and patriarchs, could be appeased with money and liberally dispensed alcohol licenses; but those who were preferred in this way, despite all tokens of esteem that were occasionally rendered to them, felt themselves oppressed by the white men, yet at the same time they saw--and this was the ominous factor--that their power over their own people was not broken. That kept their ambition alive and nourished their longing for the full freedom they had enjoyed before. We can be indulgent in our judgment of the fact that this urge finally outweighed any consideration that we might be superior to them in battle--especially since our own predictions in this point were very shortsighted.

We must search elsewhere for the reasons why the mass of the people were ruined by culture rather than were won over to it. In this connection it is necessary to start with the basic revolution in living conditions that was connected, as far as the Hottentots were concerned, with the invasion of culture in South Africa. Let us disregard for the moment cattle breeding and consider the hunting grounds of the Hottentot homeland within their wide former boundaries: around the middle of the seventeenth century, and even only a hundred years ago in many cases, Western South Africa was one of the richest game lands of the earth. Today, south of the Orange River, no Hottentot can make a living any longer by hunting. When it occurred to the Cape Government to protect game, it was far too late to take into consideration the question of the welfare of the natives. The sportsman's concern that he would soon not be able to fish--the half economic and half Lucullian consideration that wild game is, after all, the best part of the South African fare--finally, the consciousness that it is a cultural people's duty to preserve for prosterity certain animals such as, among the big game of South Africa, the elephant, the rhinoceros and the giraffe represent: these were the reasons for the measures protecting at least the remainder of the wild game.

One of the most fruitful hunting methods of the Hottentot was ambushing at the water hole. It is quite clear that this place was devaluated as far as hunting was concerned by the Boer who settled here, or the cattle herder who watered his white master's cattle here, or the waggoner who unyoked here. Where this is repeated in progressively more and more places it becomes just as apparent to the native as the increasing disappearance of game along the railroad lines and in the vicinity of the stations. One should at least be conscious of the fact that, for almost every step of progress (gratifying to us) in the colonization of the land, the native [548] is correspondingly harmed as far as his old way of life is concerned.

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More ominous than the captains' ruining of the hunting grounds was the unsystematic auctioning of pasture lands to farm-land speculators, who would stoop to anything. The Hottentot even gave up his cattle in the most frivolous fashion for guns, alcohol, tobacco and other articles to which he had become accustomed.

Often with the laudable intention of preparing him for culture the Hottentot was instilled with certain needs in clothing and ways of living without seeing to it that he satisfies these needs in a way that does not ruin him economically. For the Hottentot by himself does not see--or if he sees it does not want to accept the rational conclusion--that there remain for him only two ways of living under white domination. Either: to keep up with the new competition in the exploitation of the natural resources of the land, that is to learn to manage rationally according to European concepts in order to keep himself economically independent. Or: to bow before the competition and to earn his bread in the service of the white man.

Only a small number of the Hottentots have taken the first way, and only a few of them have managed prosperously. A second part have taken the latter way and have hired themselves out as cattlekeepers, wagon drivers, servant boys or servant girls in the white houses and farms. Here at least he has no worries about food and, in general--even if his master occasionally treats him harshly--feels content when he finds a form of justice that does not degrade him because of the superiority of his master. In this point the Hottentot, despite his superficially often unlimited devotion, is painfully sensitive.

The girls and young women also enter into a relation of dependence to the white men at their own expense. The young Hottentot woman finds a carefree life in intimate intercourse with the white man. Her vanity is generally satisfied in every respect, her sensuality is an important factor, and she is often quite proud of bearing a white child.

For the average Hottentot, whose joys and worries change from day to day, who does not think about providing either for his children after his death or for his own old age, bondage in the service of the white man would be the easiest way of getting through life if, on the one hand, the results of sexual degeneration did not drag him down, [549] and if, on the other hand, he could be trained permanently to regular work; but up until now the latter has never been systematically undertaken either by clerical or mundane forces.

Thus a large number of the Hottentots, as in past centuries, even today feel far better when, in the hard battle for existence, they must win their livelihood from frugal nature, and is hindered in their movement by no limits other than those of nature herself--in this situation they feel much better than at the trough of the white man. A settled way of life does not appeal to them, whose nomadic impulses could probably be broken only by education over a period of generations. They do not wish, as is demanded in the service of the white man, to be bound to the day and the hour; they would preferably undergo the hardships of wanderings and sacrifices of months spent in the wilderness, than allow themselves to be yoked to regular work. The most willing followers of the discontented chieftains are made up of such people.

When then, at any occasion, the signal for a revolt is given, there awakens among hundreds of others the old desire for adventure, the hope for rich booty and victory celebrations, such as live in the memories of all from the endless battles of past decades. Then, too, a way is opened for each individual to take personal revenge for injuries suffered years ago; at times like this, finally, drowning out all detailed questions of right or wrong in present or past, there sounds the cry which I have heard so often and always with the same naivété and logical irrefutability: "The land was ours; we wish to be the masters in it again!" It is the old refrain, and the end of it in this case, too, is simply that one more human race disappears from the face of the earth.

[For folklore texts, see category 116, pp. 186-187, 194-243, and 249-312 of the translation. In some instances where lengthy native texts occur they have not been reproduced in the translation. In these cases, consult the indicated pages of the foreign text, category 116 for the original native texts. --Analyst]